

THE
FORMIDABLE
MARXIST
SWINDLE

BY GEORGE SPIRO

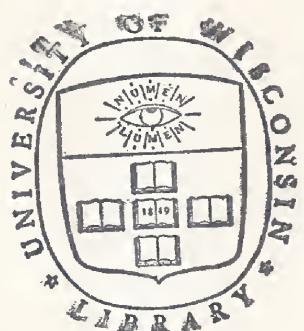
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BY GEORGE SPIRO

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I. REPRESSION IN THE U.S.S.R. THAT PRODUCED THE POST-STALIN DISSIDENTS

Vast and powerful is the Soviet Union. It is the largest State on the planet. It stretches for many thousands of miles from the borders of Norway, Finland, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, to the Ural Mountains and over, across a long, contiguous land surface of Siberia to the Sea of Japan. Its Big Diomede Island is only two and a half miles from the United States, near Alaska. In depth it extends from the Arctic Ocean south to the Black Sea, and in the Caucasus, to the boundary of Turkey and Iran. Running eastward, it has a four thousand mile frontier with China.

Its military might is colossal. It possesses the mightiest army in the world. Its blue-water warships are aggressively sailing the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans, the icy waters of the Arctic and Antarctic. It maintains a powerful naval force in the Baltic and Mediterranean seas.

Industrially it has passed every Capitalist State except the United States, upon which it is slowly gaining, and in some respects is already ahead. *The New York Times* of March 2, 1976 carried a dispatch from Moscow: "In a detailed economic report to the 25th Communist Party Congress at the Kremlin, Mr. Kosygin said that the Soviet Union now produced more steel, oil, mineral fertilizers, pig iron, coal, cement, tractors, cotton, wool and other commodities than any other country."

Even if one allows for a certain amount of exaggeration, the industrial expansion of the Soviet Union is extraordinary. In scrutinizing the policy of its leaders, one becomes convinced that they have set themselves the herculean task not merely to surpass economically and militarily the United States, but all the Capitalist countries put together, and gain the advantage of becoming spectacularly the "Rome" of the modern world. A murmuring crowd of superficial analysts will mutter back: This is unthinkable.

But is it? Who would imagine in the first years of the "Russian experiment," as the Capitalist writers then contemptuously dubbed the Bolshevik power, that a little over half a century later the Bolshevik enterprise, surrounded by a hostile atmosphere, enduring the most stupendous invasion on record and widespread devastation, would be challenging the key Capitalist State?

The founders of the Bolshevik State headed by Lenin are all dead, and their policies and activity have receded into the mist of history, like that of the leaders of the French Revolution. Strikingly, like those men of the last decade of the Eighteenth Century, the top Bolsheviks who led the October 1917 Revolution destroyed each other in a bloody aftermath, with one single exception, Joseph

Stalin. Unchallenged by all of them, except by Lenin who set out to remove him from power, Stalin, through shocking frameups, sham court trials, assassinations, tortures in his prisons, put to death all the top-ranking, popular and respected figures of the Bolshevik Party. One of them, Leon Trotsky, originally second only to Lenin, but who betrayed Lenin's trust and clandestinely helped Stalin to remain in charge, for which treachery he eventually paid with his life, was exiled by Stalin from the Soviet Union. Living in Mexico, he wrote an article, not long before he was struck down by a Stalinist assassin, in which he broadly intimated that Stalin actually disposed of Lenin. The article was entitled *Did Stalin Poison Lenin?*

Stalin was a special product of an exceptional environment. Compared with other eminent leaders, the man was hollow, but he was a superb mechanic of intrigue. And circumstances produced a fertile field for cunning plots and conspiracies for personal power, just as did the French Revolution. Two social classes, the landed aristocracy and the Capitalists, who had lived in the grand design under the Tsar, were dislodged, partly absorbed into the Soviet bureaucracy, a large number of them executed; the rest fled abroad. The place of the big landowners and private owners and directors of the mills, mines and factories was taken by a ten-million-headed bureaucracy. At the peak of the bureaucratic pyramid stood Stalin, in full control of the domestic and foreign policy of the State.

Faded is the fact that it was Lenin who placed Stalin at the levers of the mechanism of power; and that it was Lenin, and he alone, who, though incapacitated by illness, attempted to start a struggle for the removal of Stalin from all control. Very little exploration has been done into the ensuing development. Stalin's challenge to Lenin, the growth of Stalin's abuse of other leaders, his personal rudeness to Lenin's wife, Krupskaia, Trotsky's betrayal of Lenin's trust and siding with Stalin—all are buried in obscurity.

At the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923 Lenin dictated to his secretary a letter addressed to the forthcoming Twelfth Congress of the Bolshevik Party, laying down the line to dismiss Stalin from the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, the key position that locked and unlocked the doors of all departments of authority. The authenticity of this letter was admitted by Stalin himself in a speech printed in the official Party newspaper *Pravda* of November 2, 1927. But at the Twelfth Congress, held in April 1923, spiritually dominated by Trotsky, all the leading delegates agreed among themselves to suppress Lenin's letter and retain Stalin in office. From the Leninist point of view Stalin was now exercising power illegally and

even conspiratorially.

In the following thirty years Stalin enveloped Soviet society with deceptions and carried out unprecedented repressions against all sections of the population, terrorizing the Party membership, the State bureaucracy, crippling the army, disturbing the economy. Millions of workers and peasants, tens of thousands of officers, soldiers and bureaucrats, were arrested on manufactured charges, tortured, done away with. Operating in a society awash with lies and crimes, Stalin gradually became, with the sole exception, perhaps, of Hitler, the most bloodthirsty tyrant in all history, with the disposition to enjoy inflicting pain and suffering on innocent people. Opinionated, activated by the pervading ambition to enhance his power, Stalin was devoid of the slightest compassion or consideration for the fate of the people his policies would affect. For example, in his deal with Hitler to partition Poland (August 1939) Stalin was well aware that in the land under the Swastika, workers and intellectuals, his own supporters, were tortured in prisons and that the Jews, particularly the great mass of them in Poland, would be rounded up by Nazi hangmen and sent to expire in agony in the unspeakable concentration camps. All that did not matter to Stalin. As he was shown in the films, wearing a broad grin, he shook the bloody hands of the Nazi diplomats amicably following the affixture of the "Communist" and Nazi signatures to the paper giving him about half of Poland.

But was Stalin the initiator of the policy, treacherous to the oppressed, of shaking hands that tortured and murdered workers and intellectuals? Research provides an answer to that question. In 1918, a few months after Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and their associates established themselves in power, the workers of neighboring Finland rose in rebellion, seized control of a large part of the country and attempted to establish what could be termed a replica of the Bolshevik regime. The Finnish White Guard, headed by Swinhufvud and Mannerheim, appealed for help to the German Kaiser. In the notes to the Lenin Volume XV, Russian edition, a researcher finds the description of the brutal suppression of the Finnish revolutionary workers by Mannerheim: "Supported by the German bayonets the White Guards of the Finnish dictator General Mannerheim inundated the country with torrents of proletarian blood, shooting thousands of workers." (650)

The pair of hangmen established a ruthless, bloody military dictatorship in Finland. People were arrested in droves on suspicion of being in sympathy with Lenin. Not many were released. The daily routine in prisons was death through execution by firing squads.

Lenin behaved strangely in the face of this development. Anx-

ious to establish diplomatic relations with the brutal Finnish regime, Lenin invited its head to Petrograd to present him with official Soviet recognition. A suitable safeguard was provided, and Swinhufvud arrived in Smolny, the Bolshevik headquarters. Lenin met him, and later described the occasion. "I very well recall the scene when, at Smolny, it was my lot to hand an act to Swinhufvud—which in Russian means 'swine head'—the representative of the Finnish bourgeoisie, who played the part of a hangman. He amiably shook my hand, we exchanged compliments. How unpleasant that was! But it had to be done. . . ." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, in English, VIII, 341)

Stalin received many lessons of association and collaboration with Fascists and anti-Jewish pogromists from Lenin. Thousands of the military personnel assembled by Lenin and placed in the upper echelons of his Red Army were Tsarist officers, many of whom had massacred peasants, workers and Jews. On March 13, 1919 Lenin made a startling disclosure that "often the comrades among the most loyal and confirmed Bolshevik-Communists ardently protested against the fact that in the construction of the Red Socialist Army we are utilizing the old military specialists, Tsarist generals and officers tainted with service to Tsarism and at times with bloody repression against workers and peasants." (XVI, R. 71) Lenin should have added: and murderers of Poles, Tartars, Armenians, Jews and other nationalities oppressed by the Tsar. But Lenin recruited murderers of revolutionary masses and Jews not only of the Tsarist period but also of the current Civil War. An outstanding case is that of the White Guard General Slashchev, nicknamed Slashchev Krimsky, or more colloquially, Slashchiev the Hangman. A former Soviet diplomat, A. Barmin, recalls: "At Djankoy he won considerable notoriety by hanging all the members of an organization of young Communists—workers, students, boys and girls alike. After that he was known all over Russia as Slashchev the Hangman. . . ." (*Memories of a Soviet Diplomat*, 169)

When the Whites were routed on all Bolshevik fronts, a number of their generals, upon a sign from the Lenin authorities and the Tsarist bureaucrats in the service of the Soviet regime, raced up in appeal for positions in the Red Army. Slashchev applied for an assignment. He was accepted, and instead of being put on trial was placed, amid a friendly atmosphere punctuated with sincere Bolshevik handshaking, in a respectable and responsible job of a military instructor.

So when Stalin, in full knowledge of the brutality and ferocity of the Nazis toward "Communists," Liberals and Jews, rubbed these murderers' hands in pleasure, he merely followed Lenin's example with Swinhufvud and other hangmen.

On March 5, 1953 Stalin's shockingly monstrous life came to an end. In line with the manufactured image of Stalin which portrayed him as a dazzling genius, a humane guide: "On the 7th of March was published the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Ministers of the USSR to place the sarcophagus with the body of J. V. Stalin in the Mausoleum on the Red Square, next to the sarcophagus of V. I. Lenin." (*Bolshaiia Sovetskaia Encyclopedia*, 2 Ed. XXV, 593)

For nearly three years following the honorable burial, the general deceit regarding Stalin's true character continued. Suddenly, at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet "Communist" Party in 1956, Nikita Khrushchev, one of the top-ranking Stalinist bureaucrats, a seemingly noble fellow in bearing, but actually a shrewd though somewhat clownish man, created a sensation by denouncing his departed master. Although Khrushchev did not draw the curtain completely aside to reveal the entire ghastly part performed by Stalin, he disclosed much.

Following this bombshell a furious anti-Stalin storm broke out in the Soviet Union. The country entered a period of vigorous de-Stalinization. Millions of innocent prisoners were released from labor camps and other places of confinement, many broken in health but saved from death, were brought back to Moscow, Leningrad and other cities. They were rehabilitated, clothed with some dignity, restored to good repute. Streets, squares, parks, schools, hospitals, ships, factories and other objects named after Stalin were renamed. The city of Stalingrad where the famous battle against the Nazi army took place was redesignated Volgograd. Millions of pictures of Stalin were removed from the walls of public buildings and private apartments and torn up in disgust. Tens of thousands of elaborate monuments to the tyrant were uprooted, demolished, and something outside the physical sphere was included in de-Stalinization. Articles appeared upbraiding Stalinist suppression of freedom of discussion and putting in perspective an era of criticism of the policies of the ruling personnel of the State.

For a while it appeared that unrestrained, blazing revival of the early phase of the Bolshevik State when freedom of criticism, directed even against Lenin, was assumed to be an inalienable right of every member of the Party, was to be unfolded. As the de-Stalinization furor continued people with a predilection to raise dangerous questions satisfied their idiosyncrasies by asking in public, where were the present leaders during the Stalinist nightmare? This indeed was a line of pertinent inquiry. It would not take much research to render valid the suspicion that Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Kosygin, Mikoyan and other post-Stalinist leaders had been devoted flunkies of the super despot. The blood of ten million innov-

cent people murdered by Stalin was on their hands. They approved vigorously every policy Stalin laid down, even though practically and on the whole each maneuver, each political move was dramatically opposed to the interests of the population of the USSR. They enthusiastically applauded Stalin's pacts with Hitler as a stroke of genius, and thus the blood of thirty million of the Soviet population perished in the Nazi invasion, the blood of six million Jews whom Hitler brutally murdered because Stalin acquiesced to the partition of Poland, is on their heads. The writings of this foul Stalinist scum, floating before Stalin died and after on the surface of the Soviet society, were clothed in hypocritical, brilliantly colored adulation of the dictator making him a magical focus of affection of the deceived masses. Highly experienced in sycophancy, Krushchev wrote: "Glory to our Father, sagacious teacher, genius leader of the Party, of the Soviet people, and of the toilers of the whole world, Comrade Stalin." (*The Stalin Friendship of Peoples*, in Russian, 1950, 3.)

Resting on the mountain top of power, following Stalin's death, these mass murderers and assassins felt frighteningly uneasy about each other. One of them, Beria, immediately upon the despot's demise, thought he saw a golden opportunity to seize control. His masterpiece conspiracy was discovered and they quickly put an end to him without even a spectacle of a trial. The situation called for easing of tension. At length the gang—not Krushchev alone—resolved to make at least a partial disclosure of the gruesome Stalinist system of government and create an impression that under their collective leadership the dark, frigid night of over three decades of Stalinism would become but a faint and fading memory and the bright sun of freedom of expression, of criticism, of independent opinion would be pouring its warm rays upon the land.

But the exceptional moment did not last, and could not last with a team of Stalin's flunkies in control. With every passing day the tide of evaluation of moral values of the men running the State was rising, palpably directed against these specific individuals. They began to shift the gears on Stalin, propelling the drift in reverse. It was in this period that a considerable dissident movement unfolded. Krushchev rolled up his sleeves and applied police measures to suppress it.

The neo-Stalinist repressions gained momentum after Brezhnev, having assured his superior, Krushchev, a day before that "the Soviet people love you" conspired with Kosygin and Mikoyan to oust him and take over the rudder of the ship of the State.

By degrees Brezhnev, an efficient, sensitive bureaucrat, reintroduced certain aspects of Stalinism. Whereas back in 1961 he together with other members of the Central Committee voted to have Stalin's body removed from the Lenin Mausoleum and buried in

an ordinary grave, now he ordered an improvement. The place of internment was hardly noticeable for there was only a small slab with inscribed name and dates of birth and death placed over it. This was purposely arranged early in de-Stalinization to degrade the dictator in the forest of other buried "Communist" leaders with busts over their graves. Brezhnev ordered a piece of sculpture of faithful reproduction of Stalin's image to replace the slab. Much of the revelations about Stalin was now swept under the rug. Stalin, in articles in the press, was being absolved of charges of diplomatic bungling, of sowing confusion and meddling in the conduct of resistance to the Nazi invasion by his generals. The historical Battle of Stalingrad, which Khrushchev had renamed "The Battle of the Volga," was changed back to the original title.

Brezhnev set out to destroy the dissident movement. He was impelled to prevent the drift of the masses of this discordant to him current which constituted an eventual threat of an upheaval against him, the certainty of his arrest, a trial before a board of honest, anti-bureaucratic judges on charges of having been a bloody Stalinist official, and execution by a firing squad. Brezhnev fell on some methods employed by the departed supreme autocrat, Stalin.

Thus, instead of complete recovery from the virus of Stalinism, of bureaucratic abuse of power, Soviet society suffered a recrudescence of the disease. The old repressive apparatus was quick enough to respond to the personal need of the man in the highest rank of the administration. His political police proceeded to keep watch on anyone who uttered criticism of his policy, arresting the man or the woman who manifested these definite signs of opposition. How many people who showed disagreement with his domestic or foreign management of affairs were seized and with or without a trial locked up in the same prisons operated previously by Stalin? When Brezhnev induced stupid Dubcek to let the Russian troops into Czechoslovakia to "perform maneuvers," and abolished all reforms there, the world "Communist" movement reacted with commotion. In Moscow, the wife of a Russian writer, Daniel, went into the Red Square and shouted four words "Dazdravstvuet svobodnaia Czechoslovakia"—long live free Czechoslovakia." For these four words Brezhnev gave her three years in prison. A new form of punishment has become very popular with Brezhnev. The victims of his political terror are being placed in asylums for the insane.

II. LENIN THE CONSUMATE MARXIST

Lenin's name in the Soviet Union is engraved on almost every heart. It is immortal. Thousands stand in line in all weather to glance at his embalmed remains in the Mausoleum on the Red

Square. The true historical record of his political life remains untold, is beclouded and substituted by the "Communist" and Capitalist ideology with fictitious accounts. Hardly less respectable are two other names, Marx and Engels, now practically of museum quality, whose reputation of honesty, brilliancy and dedication to the cause of Socialism has been polished up to sparkle like chystal.

At the dawn of the Twentieth Century, among the vast multitude of Marxist scholars, some erudite in the extreme, the most profound student was Vladimir Ilyich Ulianov, by the pseudonym Nikolai Lenin. He was familiar with the most intimate aspects of the personal and political life of Marx and Engels. He was virtually a stargazer of these two founders of the Marxist system. In the spirit of systematically expanding his horizons he presented Marxism as a science. "Marxism demands an extremely precise and objectively verifiable analysis of the interrelation of classes and of the concrete peculiarity of each historical moment. We Bolsheviks have always tried faithfully to fulfill this demand, since it is absolutely imperative for a scientific foundation of politics." (Letters on Tactics, April 1917). In a pamphlet *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution*, also written in April 1917, Lenin warned against superficial Marxists: "Marx and Engels gauged the times accurately; they understood the international situation . . . Let us not imitate those sorry Marxists of whom Marx said: 'I have sown dragons and have gathered a harvest of fleas.'

Marxism was Lenin's only visible compass. "One must be able to regard matters from the Marxist standpoint . . ." (*Report on the Current Situation*, May 7, 1917).

Indefatigably, unswervingly, Lenin adhered to the Marxist course. Everybody will agree that without Marxism there would have been no Soviet Union. Lenin, and after him Stalin, and Stalin's successors, passionately observed the memory of Marx and Engels. Requests have been made by the Soviet leaders to transfer Marx's remains from England to Russia, refused by the British Government. Throughout the Soviet Union streets, parks, libraries, colleges, office buildings, factories, theatres have been named after Marx and Engels. Their writings, comprising many bulky volumes have been printed and reprinted in several editions, and are fully accessible to any and every citizen or foreigner, free and legal, surrounded with an aura of deep deference.

Several questions present themselves. Does the world the Soviet people live in correspond to the world Marx, Engels and Lenin dreamt about? Could Marxist principles include such disgusting acts as shaking the bloody hands of the Swinhufvuds, of the Hitlerites? Was the horrible catalog of Stalinist crimes within the bounds of Marxism? And putting a question bluntly, was there, or is there something anti-working class, bureaucratic, criminal in Marxism?

To provide an accurate reply one must search for an answer to these questions: What is Marxism? How did it arise? How did it function for three quarters of a century? Toward what goal is it leading the working class? The right answer to these questions will be shaped by studying primarily, though not exclusively, the writings not of the Marxists, and not of the Capitalist-minded interpreters of Marxism but of *Marx and Engels themselves*.

III. WHAT IS MARXISM— THE CORNERSTONE OF MARXIST ECONOMICS

Presented to a naked eye, as Lenin did, Marxism is a political system to lead humanity to Socialism. But how does it appear under a political microscope to a questing eye, to a mind disturbed by frustrating factors, driven by doubt, in apprehension that something may be wrong with Marxist set of ideas, principles and tactics?

Marx and Engels began their remarkable collaboration by converging on six specific personalities—"We German Socialists are proud of the fact that we are derived not only from Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen, but also from Kant, Fichte and Hegel." (Frederick Engels, Preface to the first edition of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Sep. 21, 1882.)

Of the six persons mentioned, Charles Fourier won a special fascination from the founders of the Marxist system. At the very start of their political and personal union they interlocked their orbit with his. Engels enthusiastically introduced Fourier to the German Left public, "in Fourier we find a critique of existing social conditions, which, typically French in its wit, is none the less penetrating." (*Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*)

On March 7, 1845, Engels wrote to Marx: "We are getting ready to translate Fourier and if possible to put out a 'Library of outstanding foreign Socialists.' The best thing to begin with Fourier." (*Marx-Engels Works*, in Russian translation from German, XXI, 16)

Engels reprimanded the German Left intellectuals for failing to discern in Fourier an outstanding critic of relations in Capitalist Society: "I want to read to these wise gentlemen a small chapter from Fourier which may serve them as a sample." (V.R., 46)

And Engels translated from French into German Fourier's supposedly realistic but obviously an artificially concocted story, presented by the author and now by Engels as a product of profound learning. The fabrication consists of a tale about a crooked Jew-merchant, whom Fourier, to cover him with infamy, brands with the treacherous Biblical name "Judas-Iscariot." He arrives in

a French town from Germany, opens a shop, outmaneuvers the local gentile businessmen, whose integrity is pictured as unimpeachable, amasses a fortune and ruins them through a distinctly "Jewish" trickery invented by professional anti-Semites. Here is that story:

"Judas Iscariot arrives in France with a capital of 100,000 francs which he gained out of his first bankruptcy. He settles down in some city where he competes with six respectable houses which are enjoying credit. In order to deprive them of their clients and their good name Iscariot starts out by selling goods at cost—a sure means of attracting the masses. Soon his competitors begin to curse him aloud in every way, but he pays no attention whatsoever and continues selling at cost.

"The people are enthusiastic: long live competition, long live the Jews, long live philosophy and brotherhood. All commodities fell in price with the appearance of Iscariot, and the public declares to his competitors: Dear Sirs, it is you who are the real Jews, you who want to make big profits; the only honest man here is Iscariot, for he is satisfied with a modest income because he does not parade around with so much glitter as you do! All the assurances by the old houses that Iscariot is a disguised crook and sooner or later he will go bankrupt are of no avail. The public accuses them of jealousy and calumny, and more patronizes the sons of Israel.

"The calculations of the robber are as follows: by selling at cost he loses only the interest on his capital, say 10,000 francs a year, but with all that he creates for himself in the ports a name as a great consumer, and with short-term payments, establishes a large credit. Such trickery is carried out for two years during which Iscariot makes no profit although he has sold a great amount of goods. His machinations remain secret because the Jews employ only Jewish office men, people who are secret enemies of all nations and, naturally, will not reveal even a single swindle of one of their own.

"When the situation has matured, Iscariot makes use of all his credit, issues tremendous orders in all ports, buys up goods on terms for five or six hundred thousand francs. He ships his goods abroad, and all the goods in his warehouse he sells virtually for nothing. When everything is converted into money, the brave Iscariot disappears with his portfolio and returns to Germany wither he has shipped the goods he bought on terms, rapidly sells them and finds himself at the time he leaves France four times richer than when he had entered it. He has 400,000 francs and he departs for London or Livorno in order to start his spider web for the third bankruptcy.

"At this point the curtain falls and in the city where he carried out his experiment people recover their senses. They realize how

dangerous it is to permit the Jews to enter the commercial field. . ." (*Marx and Engels, Works*, in Russian, V, 72-3)

An honest researcher will see that the story translated by Engels from Fourier for distribution in Germany was drawn not out of reality of Capitalist commerce but is a piece of propaganda of French anti-Semitism. To the quite clear-minded Lenin, who naturally read the "Iscariot" piece, the anti-Semitic essence of that concoction was obvious. He witnessed the masterworks of pogrom agitation precisely of this sort in Tsarist Russia in the paper *Novae Vremia*, in other Black Hundred publications, in the parks and streets of towns and cities. Everybody knows, and Lenin knew better than others, that from the view of economic science, the story was a criminal absurdity. No merchant for two years sells goods at cost; no such division in the mercantile field exists that the Gentile shopkeepers represent the elegance of bearing and are impeccably mannered gentlement, while the Jewish merchants are shrewd, calculating, outrageous crooks, unfailing in their swindles. They are all after profits, and that sums up Capitalist commerce.

Charles Fourier (1772-1837) was an outstanding anti-Semitic writer. Lenin maintained discrete silence regarding the profound admiration Engels held for Fourier. And in 1918, just a few weeks after securing power, Lenin ordered the translation of Fourier into Russian, presumably for distribution among workers, "Communists" and bureaucratic officials. "Selected Works of Fourier were issued in Russian in 1918 under the editorship of Totomians." (*Bolshaiia Sovietskaia Encyclopedia*, LIX, 349) Distinctly and separately, in April 1922, in the journal *Pod Znamenem Marxism*—*Under the Banner of Marxism*—which Lenin read and praised very highly, was printed Engels' article "Fourier on Commerce" which contains the "Judas Iscariot" fabrication.

In 1937 the Stalin regime commemorated the hundredth anniversary of Fourier's death. A flunky named Dvortsov was assigned the task of supervising the reprinting the following year of Fourier's works. Dvortsov wrote an introduction, rendering great honor to this outstanding anti-Semitic author:

"Charles Fourier went down in history as a remarkable, most clever critic of Capitalism and a harbinger of a new, happy life of humanity. Marx and Engels regarded Fourier as one of the patriarchs of Socialism." (5) To render Fourier's writings familiar in student circles, Dvortsov declared: "On the hundredth anniversary of Fourier's death, when, in place of the highly gifted fantasies and touching dreams about a harmonious, happy future of humanity, there has been erected in our country the granite edifice of Socialism, when the daring daydream of the best minds of humanity have been transformed by the efforts and struggle of the toilers, with their beloved leader Comrade Stalin at the head,

into a beautiful, happy reality, we pay our respects to the champion of the new social relations—Charles Fourier." (22)

The "Iscariot" is not a chance, foolish item but one of a pattern. One finds anti-Semitism sprinkled in Fourier's writings. Thus: "The Jews, by virtue of their dedication to trade, are the spies of all nations and if need be, informers and hangmen." (*Theorie de l'utopie universale*, IV, 424) "Oh! Has there ever been a nation more despicable than the Hebrews, who have achieved nothing in art and science, who are distinguished only by a record of crime and brutality which at every page of their loathsome annals makes you sick." (*Theorie des quatre mouvements*, 61, cited in *Jewish Social Studies*, Oct. 1946, 249)

According to Dvortsov, attempts were made to reveal the unscientific nature of Fourier but the Marxist leaders defended him to the hilt: "It is necessary to state that there have been not a few efforts to blacken and debase the highly upright essence of the French utopian Socialist both in the West as well as in Tsarist Russia. And if the critics of Fourier's 'craziness' failed in their scheme, then the credit for that is due, in the first place, to Marx, Engels and Lenin, who gave exhaustive instructions and high appraisal of the ideological heritage of the great utopian Socialist." (5)

IV. WHAT IS MARXISM— MANIPULATIONS WITH CAPITAL

The largest work Marx fashioned is *Capital*, in which, presumably, he illuminated the complex economic mechanism of the Capitalist system. In the preface to the first volume, Marx says that *Capital* represents the continuation of his earlier production, *The Critique of Political Economy*. To be consistent in criticizing *Capital*, one should obtain a rounded view of both works by flashing for a moment a ray of investigation on the *Critique*, specifically on the manner in which it was produced.

Informing Marx of the arrangements with the publisher, Engels made certain proposals. He advised that the *Critique* be inflated with citations from various economists, historians and publicists on other sociological topics: "And indeed, it is quite easy to fill 10 sheets with quotations, without cost and loss of time, from Petty, Steward, Colepepper and other authors, and, incidentally, your book will become more 'educational.'" (Letter, Nov. 27, 1857, XXI, R. 298) The main point behind this advise was to make an impression on the reading public with a large work! "Most important, it is necessary that you again make your debut before the public with a fat book." (Ib.)

The manner of producing *Capital* was similar. The first and

second volume bristle with superfluous documentation, and when working on the third, Marx informed Engels, "I am greatly enlarging the volume since the German dogs measure the value of a book by its cubic dimensions." (Letter, June 18, 1882. XXIII, R. 81) Any scientific writer will agree that the governing rule to follow is: the use of quotations to establish a point should be commended: to fill a book with citations mainly to impress the reader with its imposing dimensions must be condemned.

After the first volume was published (1867), Marx and Engels sought to win acclaim not from the membership of their International, organized three years earlier, to which they did not present it at all, but from the German manufacturers and their Capitalist men of learning. This orientation tells a great deal. The founders of Marxism praised the book very highly, but in one instance, to arouse a controversy, Engels attacked *Capital*. Writing a review of the work, he said: "If space permitted, it would be possible to show that these subjective fantasies of his are refuted by his own presentation." (*Der Beobachter*, Dec. 27, 1867; *Marx and Engels Works*, in Russian, XIII, Pt. 1, 222)

With a clarity rarely seen in presentations courting favor, Marx and Engels went to the length of a direct appeal to the German Capitalists to recognize *Capital* as an instrument of promotion and improvement of their industry in competition with the English manufacturers. The Germans, Marx and Engels admitted, were divided politically, but they were all united as Germans. Here is that appeal, a gem in the art of pleasing solicitation:

"Those German businessmen who regard their industry not only from the point of view of every-day profit but as an essential link in the entire great contemporary industrial development of all countries, and who therefore are interested also in matters not directly connected with their field, will find here a rich and edifying source, and will be thankful to us for our calling their attention to it . . . a greater education which up to now has been saving us Germans, despite our political divisions, would be also in this instance the best weapon which we could direct against the crudely-materialistic English. . . . The author has rendered a great service to German industry in that he has given the history of the English legislation and its results in the most detailed manner on the basis of official documents (see pages 207-281, 399, 496 and further in various places). . . . We are calling upon our manufacturers not to be frightened by the tendency of the book and seriously study this part of it in particular; sooner or later this very question will undoubtedly arise before them." (*Gewerberblatt aus Wurthemberg*, Dec. 27, 1867. XIII, Pt. 1, R. 224-6)

This artful appeal Marx and Engels made to "our manufacturers" was printed anonymously. It was found and copied by the

Stalinist editors of *Marx-Engels Works*, not from the journal in which it appeared, but in the form of a manuscript among Engels' papers. It is quite reasonable to conclude that had the honest members of Marx' International read it in the *Gewerberblatt* and then discovered that it was written by his personal friend and political coworker Engels, they would have been seized with nausea and would have fled from Marx's organization in droves.

The shamefaced call upon the manufacturers to study *Capital* explains why Marx clothed the work in heavy philosophical language, far beyond the limit of the reaches of the average worker or even of a seasoned bookish intellectual. Many years later Engels recalled that one, Professor Schaffle, having labored to master *Capital* for ten years, admitted he had difficulty in grasping the meaning of its propositions. (Letter to Schlegeman, March 26, 1885) Victor Adler, the founder of Austrian Social Democracy, struggled for twenty years trying to understand *Capital*, relying on a key supplied by Engels for deciphering the inscrutable work.

Marx was in friendly correspondence with the poet Freiligrath, an associate of the turbulent days of 1848, and a member then of the editorial staff of Marx's paper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. A few months after the publication of the first volume of *Capital*, Marx received a letter from this friend describing the impassioned approval of the book by many Capitalists in the Rhineland. Marx mailed his citation to Dr. Kugelmann. It reads: "I know that in the Rhineland many young merchants and factory owners are enthusiastic about the book. In these circles it will accomplish its real purpose. . . ." (Marx, *Letters to Kugelmann*, 69)

In view of the impossibility for both workers and intellectuals to penetrate the obscure contents of *Capital*, for many years to have the senses confounded and perplexed, rather than elucidated, Freiligrath's report made only a few months after the book was published, sounds like a fairy tale told for the amusement of children. But a certain significant fact must not be overlooked. He clearly perceived that *Capital* was not a Socialist work written for the workers, but written for "German dogs," the German Capitalists.

In consequence, about a year after the appearance of the first volume, Engels asked Marx: "The question is: does it not seem urgently necessary to have a popular, brief presentation of the contents of your book for the workers?" (Letter, Sept. 16, 1868) But months, and then years, went by, and neither Marx nor Engels carried out the "urgently necessary" translation, so to speak, of *Capital* into simple enough language for the workers to understand. And while ignoring the suggestion to write a simplified presentation of *Capital*, Marx spent much of his time on preparing a French translation of the first volume. Naturally, in French as in the original German, *Capital* was not for the workers. Engels, in a letter

to Bebel dated October 28, 1885, that is, eighteen years after the publication of *Capital*, remarked: "The French translation of *Capital* is a closed book to them, and not only to them but also to the educated elements."

The Capitalists rejected *Capital* despite the efforts by Engels to interest them enough to read it. So Marx and Engels, guided by practicality, assumed the pretense that the book was written for the workers. Not a single Marxist scholar grew weary of the tedious iteration of the pretense on various occasions in their International. "The Congress of the International adopted a resolution moved by Johann Philipp Becker recommending the book to international socialists as the bible of the working class." (Paul Lafarge, *Reminiscences of Marx*) Not a single delegate at the Congress voted against Becker's resolution, or even abstained from voting. Every leader in each Marxist Party, including the Russian, both the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, avoided calling attention to the deceptive "proletarian" title.

V. WHAT IS MARXISM? THE SHAM DEBATE ON TARIFFS

In Brussels, on January 9, 1848, a few weeks prior to the publication of the famous *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels, before a group of politically studious workers, Marx delivered a lecture in which he emphatically defended free trade as a "Communist" position: "Generally speaking, the protectionist system is today conservative, while the system of free trade acts destructively. It decomposes the old nationalities and pushes the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to the extreme limit. In a word, the system of free trade accelerates the social revolution. Only in this, revolutionary sense, do I stand for free trade." (V., R., 461; Appendix to *Poverty of Philosophy* by Marx, *Marxist Library*, XXVI, 208)

In Social Democratic circles in Germany, Austria, France, Belgium and other countries, workers and intellectuals studying Marxist economics, regarded Marx's speech on tariff as a rich contribution to "Socialist science." They condemned protectionism and passionately supported free trade. It was naturally assumed that the coolheaded teacher adopted this position after much thought. A large amount of literature was printed upholding Marx's defense of commerce not subjected to tariff rules. In the 1905 Revolution and for years after, Plekhanov, considered one of the most respected leaders of Russian Social Democracy, and a founder of Menshevism, paid very high tribute to Marx's view.

And so it would have remained, an inspiring, almost magical

formula in the minds of thousands who read Marx's outlook on free trade and put forward in all seriousness in the darkness of the mysteries of Capitalist economics, had it not been for an incidental and quite inadvertent revelation by Engels. It so happened that a group of American followers of Marx secured several copies of his free tariff lecture in German, and considering that it supplemented his other works on economics, decided to have it translated into English and used in their Socialist classes. One of the leaders of the group, Schleuter wrote to Engels about the decision. He received a reply:

"Tell me something more definite about the mentioned speech by Marx on the protective tariff. I only remember that when in the Brussels German Workers Association the discussion lost animation, Marx and I arranged to conduct a sham polemic in which he would defend free trade and I protective tariffs. I see before my eyes the astounded faces of those present when they saw us fall upon each other." (Engels, letter to Scheuter, Jan. 29, 1891. XXVIII, R. 280)

What, then, was the Marxist position on tariffs? The "Communist" archives hold a historical document showing that Marx and Engels presented yet a third position, entirely different from the two stands taken in the sham controversy. About two years before the "debate" Engels had stated positively: "We absolutely do not intend to defend either protective tariffs or free trade, but wish to give a criticism of both systems from our own point of view. Our point of view is a Communist one." (Letter to Kampe, Oct. 14, 1845. XXV, R., 8)

Florence Kelly-Wishnevetsky translated Marx's speech defending free trade, and asked Engels to write an introduction. And Engels, fully conscious that Marx's position was a pretense, compounded the deception by supplying his American followers with an introduction, making Marx's work on free trade an almost required study for those who sought to create a Socialist society.

VI. MARX AND ENGELS SUPPRESS THEIR COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

The origin of the Marxist swindle was not a case of a political tendency starting meticulously free from moral defilement and gradually becoming sour, finally, in the long course of time, transforming itself into a cesspool of dissimulation, deceit and crime, a counterfeit of its former self. Marx and Engels at the very beginning of their public careers were political fortune hunters. In 1846-1847, the twosome, being young, extremely erudite, ambitious of becoming leaders in social thought, subjected to a cautiously

friendly criticism a Left organization composed of artisans and intellectuals, mostly Germans, functioning in Zurich, Paris and London, calling itself the League of the Just. The membership of the League, by available evidence, were honest fellows. They recognized at once the intellectual superiority of their critics, and invited them to join the organization, actually proposing that Marx and Engels take over the leadership. With cheerful readiness, the critics accepted the invitation, reorganized the group, gave it a new name, The Communist League, and wrote what they described as a "detailed theoretical and practical program of the Party." Such was the origin of one of the most famous, most original documents every produced, the *Communist Manifesto*.

The work is a rich vein of numerous correct ideas, but since every author makes his or her share of errors, it is profusely interspersed with wrong formulations, incorrect conclusions and black holes of omission. Near the end the following positive statement was made: "The Communists turn their attention to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilization and with a much more developed proletariat than that of England in the seventeenth, and France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution."

The *Manifesto* was written in language a political student could understand without difficulty, utterly unlike the later *Capital*. The entire membership of the League read it and ardently applauded its authors. Everything in the League was now held together by the *Manifesto*. The members set to work distributing this piece of literature in place of the old sentimental appeals for the brotherhood of all men, with their hearts and minds fixed on Germany which Marx and Engels prophesied, would soon be experiencing the Capitalist revolution against the landed aristocracy, followed at once by a workers' revolution against the Capitalists.

And sure enough, a few weeks after the *Manifesto* was published, a revolution broke out over a large part of the continent of Europe. On February 24, 1848 it engulfed Paris; then on March 13 it swept Vienna, and five days later Berlin. Soon all France, Hungary and all of Germany were in a tide of insurrection.

Early in April Marx and Engels crossed over from France into Germany, and in a high fever of activity proceeded to make ready for launching a paper. It appeared shortly hence—the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

To the members of the League, some of whom had returned to Germany with Marx and Engels, the contents of the organ under Marx's editorship were a sad, unforeseen mystery and disappointment. The line did not bear the League stamp. It did not focus

on the interests of the working class. Not a word was spoken of the League and its program, the *Manifesto*. A biographer of Marx, Franz Mehring, indicates what amounts to suppression of the *Manifesto* by its authors: "Lassalle never mentioned either the Communist League nor its *Manifesto* in his agitation, and it is just as true that in several hundred issues of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* there is just as little reference to either of them." (Karl Marx, 337)

Suffering a severe disturbance due to the impact of Marx's entirely unpredicted policy, the League split. A few members without much ado, without raising a host of doubts, though in a state of perplexity, accepted the change. But others, with a sincere heartbeat for Socialism, attempted to move events in that direction. This was particularly true of Dr. Gottschalk, a leader of the Cologne branch of the League, who mounted an intensive campaign of enlightening and organizing the workers. He formed the Workers Union and put out a paper in which he attacked the royalists, the Capitalists, and Marx. "Gottschalk's paper declared relentless warfare on 'all parties, from that of the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (the mouthpiece of the extreme Right) to that of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.'" (Cited by Nicolaievsky and Maenchen-Helfen in their biography of Marx, 185)

Marx was furious. He was no mean adversary. He took the offensive against Gottschalk, planted a few adherents in the Workers Union for the purpose of disrupting it from within, and even invaded its meetings personally, took the floor and blasted away at its "sectarian" activity. He condemned Gottschalk for founding the organization. "He took part in the first meetings of the Workers Union. But in a very short time, differences of opinion concerning the policy of the Union arose between Gottschalk and him. . . . The discussion is said to have become 'very violent' and Dr. Gottschalk was harshly criticised in regard to the organization of the Workers Union." (Ib., 159-160)

But neither to anyone in the Workers Union, nor to the loyal supporters of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was it clear what the reason was for the spectacular change of orientation Marx had executed. His giving up the *Manifesto* and strangling the League was so striking, so puzzling, as to baffle them all. Only a few weeks earlier, Marx had been a Niagara of energy in discussing various points in the program of the League; now, suddenly, without revealing why, his turned his back upon it.

Diligent, deep-digging research helps to explain Marx's relinquishing the *Manifesto*. His new position is made clear by postulating to the workers the promotion of the development of Capitalism and relegating the struggle to free them to a distant future. Here are his precise, melodious words, making absolutely doubtless his stunning metamorphosis, and printed in the *Neue Rheinische*

Zeitung: "We say to the workers and petty-bourgeoisie: rather suffer in modern bourgeois society, which by the development of industry creates the material means for the foundation of a new society, which will free you, than step backwards into an obsolete form of society, which under the pretext of saving your class, will plunge the whole nation back into medieval barbarism." (Marx-Engels Works, in Russian, VII, 162)

This was wholly a "non-Marxist" political approach to the working class. It was a total break with the idea of replacing Capitalism with Socialism. No wonder Gottschalk and his associates edged away from Marx. This was the middle of the Nineteenth Century when the working class of Europe, as well as of America, demanded reforms to put a stop to the heavy exploitation by the greedy Capitalists. Marx did not propose even to struggle for unionizing labor, and offered the chronic sufferers under Capitalism the torture of suffering further, build up the industrial fabric, and then, fifty or a hundred years later, after having taken a lofty view of the moral and physical distress, usher in relief and comfort.

By adopting a position to promote Capitalism, Marx deserted the League and, from his point of view, if the *Manifesto* represented a chart delineating the path to Socialism, which, due to the flaws, it was not, he in his consciousness, betrayed the ideal of creating a Socialist society.

There can be no other explanation for Marx's clear-cut shift to uphold Capitalism than the one seen in his political acrobatics just before he and Engels reached out with their criticism of the League of the Just. In 1842, Marx, a mere fledgling of 24, was already an extremely devoted student of history and politics, and an attentive and systematic observer of the ideological matters circulating in the Left wing of society. He became acquainted with a number of Liberal Capitalists in the Rhine region of Germany, and they, under the able leadership of the young prodigy, founded the *Rheinische Zeitung*. Six years later, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was but a continuation of that other paper, in a revolutionary setting. The line in both was of the Capitalist republican mold, except in the first a lot was being left unsaid, but in the second the writing was virtually unrestrained, without the worrying by its editor, Marx, about how his opponents would take it.

In the early part of his career, Marx was occupied with three subjects: the study of political economy, of history, particularly the branch dealing with the French Revolution, and with Liberal attacks on the Prussian regime. Engels in his biography *Karl Marx* wrote: "The study of political economy and of the history of the Great French Revolution still allowed Marx time enough for occasional attacks on the Prussian government."

The history of the French Revolution fascinated Marx. He read

many books on the subject, perused the journals appearing in the revolutionary years, read the speeches delivered in the Convention and other revolutionary houses; and he diligently went through the records of the policies of the astonishingly energetic Jacobins under the leadership of Robespierre. From his close examination, Marx knew of the positions assumed by each social class in French society toward one another and toward the bloody Jacobin dictatorship. The landed aristocracy with its royalty and its clergy was isolated and completely broken by the Jacobins. The peasantry, fully emancipated from Feudal chains gave unwavering backing to the Jacobin authority. The workers, carried away by Jacobin demagogic, franchise, and military resistance to the Feudal monarchs of Europe, were the shock troops of the Revolution. And finally the speculators, shopkeepers-profiteers and owners of factories, though unpopular with the masses, found protection in Robespierre and his nine-member Committee of Public Safety. With all its abnormalities, its excesses, its advanced ideas like the Revolutionary Calendar, the French Revolution was a Capitalist upheaval.

Pondering on the social conditions of Germany, Marx understood that though Feudalism was a thing of the past, its trappings, the monarch and the nobility were in charge, and therefore a Capitalist revolution was imminent. "Marx, therefore, did everything in his power to assist the coming of the bourgeois revolution . . . took part in the foundation of the Democratic League, became its vice-president. . . ." (Otto Ruhle, *Karl Marx*, 121) The Democratic League, of which Marx became the leader, was an organization of Left Capitalist intellectuals. Curiously, in the Autumn of 1847, after reorganization of the League of the Just, Marx travelled to London to perform a double function, one, to represent the Democratic League at the Conference of Fraternal Democrats, as a Capitalist political activist, and second, to guide the "Communist" League's Congress, as the political leader of the working class revolution against Capitalism. This dual function, for the retention, and what he and Engels put forward for the abolition, of Capitalism, could go on and was intended to go on for years. The Revolution of 1848, a short while after the publication of the *Manifesto*, forced Marx to the wall. One position or the other had to be given up. There is a sign that at first he favored giving action to the line of the League. Aided by Engels he drew up a programmatic document, "The Seventeen Points," entirely in the spirit of the *Manifesto*. But having arrived on the scene of the upheaval, capturing the mood of the Democrats, he concealed the document. There cannot be any doubt that both Marx and Engels suddenly decided to halt the revolution at the Capitalist level, and their reasons for this decision are many. They calculated that the

majority of the population would follow them, whereas if they leaned only on the workers and the poorest peasants the majority would be against them. Not only the nobility and the Capitalists but also the very numerous petty shop-keeper class, almost the entire peasantry and a large section of the working class would have energetically opposed a proletarian revolution. Simultaneously, if their regime of power would provoke serfdom Russia and Capitalist France, and also England, to intervene, and thus imperiling his cause of becoming a dictator. Guided by this mental outlook, Marx and his partner arrived in Germany, and bursting into public view as Capitalist revolutionists, immediately approached the Liberal Left Capitalists for contributions to start a paper. "It was difficult to raise money for the project, since many of the Capitalists to whom they appealed knew something of their social ideas and intentions. Marx collected subscriptions in Cologne, and Engels in the Wuppertal. Thence he wrote to friends: 'If a single copy of our Seventeen Points gets into this district, our cause is lost.' " (Mayers, *Karl Marx*, 94-95)

The "cause" which magnetically drew Marx and Engels into a position of leadership in the Revolution of 1848-1849 was of course not Socialism, and for that matter not Capitalism either. It was the exciting, centrifugal force of the vision of a revolutionary dictator standing on the top of the tower of power in Berlin, and striking out in the "Jacobin" fashion to capture military control of much of Europe.

To clear the path for a German "Robespierre," that is, himself, Marx stormed in his paper against the feeble Prussian Government, an obstacle to his "cause" on the Right, and went beyond merely keeping a weather eye on the danger of development of a true Socialist movement, a barely possible threat to his scheme from the Left. He was actively engaged in destroying the first and preventing the second. The League, though split, and limited in function only to the Gottschalk section, was nominally still in existence. Marx resolved to kill it. Those members of the League who supported him politically and distributed his paper objected to the liquidation of the organization. "Though they agreed with him on general political questions and sided with him in the struggle with Gottschalk, they had lived in the League and with the League and it had been dear to them too long for them to be able to consent to its liquidation. So Marx, in the words of a contemporary, made use of his discretionary powers and dissolved the League." (Nic. and M-H, 163-164)

Then something very mysterious occurred. Dr. Gottschalk was framed on a fictitious charge of inciting workers to violence, although he advocated peaceful agitation, and was imprisoned for six months by the local authorities. In his absence, Marx's agents

inside the Workers Union liquidated the organization by attaching it to the pro-Capitalist, inclined toward Marx, Association of Employers and Employed.

Released, Gottschalk started to build a new group advocating a struggle for a workers revolution. In the process of his fight against Marx's positional-gravitational strength among the workers, Gottschalk died.

A closer inspection reveals that Marx's strikingly imaginative speculations about pushing the Capitalist Revolution upon a "Jacobin" course contained a basic error. He did not realize that whereas in French history Feudalism lingered on prior to the Revolution, in Germany in 1848 Feudalism with its serfdom and general oppression was largely a thing of the past, that the German Capitalist class, with a minor exception, was as devotedly attached to its royalty as the British to its. These circumstances depleted the reserves of the Revolution. The upheaval was begun and advanced for a moment by the workers and a portion of the peasantry. The King of Prussia, believing that his army was unreliable, withdrew his troops from Berlin. With the aid of the Capitalists, big and small, he soon recovered his stability.

Lenin, who knew the history of Prussia well, and of Marx's abandonment of the League and the *Manifesto* perhaps even better, clearly perceived that several weeks before the opening of the abortive Revolution, Marx urged the workers to fight for their emancipation from Capitalism. "The workers have nothing to lose but their chains, they have a world to gain." But when the upheaval burst over Europe, he proposed to the workers that they choose against the old, decayed Feudalism the Capitalist system. Marx knew the meaning of suffering under Capitalism. He described it in many of his works. It meant long hours of tedious labor. It meant oppressive sweat shops, Capitalist repugnance to aid the workers with medical attention, flourishing slave trade, an army of starving unemployed, the consuming Capitalist passion for money, deception in commerce. It meant that a part of the womanhood turned to prostitution, and the bulk of women living a miserable existence, surrounded by half-starving children, beaten by their alcoholic husbands, disenfranchised and oppressed by the State. It meant a society riddled with crime, with corruption of government officials. It meant nervous breakdowns, insane asylums, suicides, and general unhappiness. "Rather suffer in modern bourgeois society . . ." said Marx to the workers, than accept "medieval barbarism."

Lenin read Marx's statement to the workers and little Capitalists but made no comment on it. With relation to 1848-1849, he utilized his pen instead to echo Marx's coverup: "Marx said that the cause of the failure of the Revolution of 1848 was that the

bourgeoisie had preferred peace with slavery to the mere prospect of having to fight for freedom." (Karl Marx) Whose freedom? Not of the workers! On that Lenin maintained silence. As for the German Capitalists making "peace with slavery," they were as free as they wished to be.

Marx knew well what suffering under Capitalism was. For a while his family and he underwent privations, until his friend Engels, a wealthy textile manufacturer, established a bounty, meeting all expenses of Marx's family, including doctor bills, photographs and the like. Marx was aware of the fact that the average worker, keeping barely afloat in the ocean of poverty, had no hand of a millionaire to supply him with the necessities of life. Many starving workers stole bread to feed their hungry children, as Valjean, Victor Hugo's protagonist in *Les Misérables*.

VII. MARX AND ENGELS ON CHATTEL SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1846-47 Marx wrote a book *La Misere de la Philosophie* in which he said: "Without slavery, North America, the most progressive country, would have been transformed into a patriarchal country. Efface North America from the map of the world and you would have the anarchy, the complete decadence, of modern commerce and civilization. Cause slavery to disappear, and you will have effaced America from the map of nations." (21)

John Brown's partisan struggle against the chattel power in Kansas (1854-1858), his seizure of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry (Oct. 16-8, 1859), and the risings of the slaves in many of the southern states were viewed by Marx and Engels with real apprehension. About a month after Brown was executed, Marx in a letter to Engels, dated January 11, 1860, expressed deep concern over the future of Manchester, the center of British textile industry where the factory partly owned by Engels was located: "I have just seen in the *Tribune* that there has been a fresh rising of slaves in Missouri, naturally suppressed. But the signal has now been given. If things get serious by and by, what will then become of Manchester?" (Marx, *Civil War in the U.S.*, 221)

The false idea that the textile industry in Europe would be ruined if slavery in the United States were abolished was firmly planted in the minds of Marx and Engels. The secession of South Carolina upon the news of the election of Lincoln prompted Marx to say in a letter to Engels, dated January 7, 1861, in a tone of abandoning hope: "It seems that one way or another slavery is rapidly going to come to an end, and then it will be the same with cotton production." (Ib.)

When the Civil War broke out and the slaveholders were winning one battle after another, the hope of Marx and Engels that the bondage of the black people would go on, rose sharply. Engels was particularly enthusiastic. But Marx, already showing signs of wavering, began to doubt the correctness of their position that chattel slavery was indispensable in the production of cotton, and therefore of the need of that form of exploitation to maintain Manchester. And as the strength of the North grew he leaned toward the realization, at first nebulously and later clearly, that the North by all measurements was superior to the South and would eventually be victorious. Not Engels. For a much longer time he would not budge an inch. It should be noted that in his letters to Marx he put the word *rebellion* in quotation marks, after the style of other sympathizers of the South. Here is a sample: "The Bull Run affair II was a capital bit of work by Stonewall Jackson, who is by far the best chap in America . . . the lads in the South, who at least know what they want, strike me as heroes in comparison with the flabby management of the North. Or do you still believe that the gentlemen in the North will crush the 'rebellion'?" (Letter, Sept. 9, 1862. *Civil War in the U.S.*, 253-4)

When the slaveholders' rebellion was crushed, and the production of cotton was resumed by the men and women emancipated from chattel bondage, now on the basis of hiring servitude, of sharing the crop by a tenant with the owner of the land, and eventually by a black farmer, Marx and Engels fully realized that they had been in error to say "Without slavery you have no cotton." In 1885, two years after Marx died, Engels wrote an introduction to a new edition of *Poverty of Philosophy*. In a note he momentarily discussed his and Marx's previous pro-slavery views. But instead of honestly admitting that they had been wrong, he dishonestly stated: "This was perfectly correct for the year 1847."

VIII. A GERMAN ROBBER PLAN FOR THE "RESTORATION" OF POLAND

During their long political life Marx and Engels were involved in many important issues of the day, and every one of these issues they enveloped with either personal or national, but usually political corruption. A milestone in the wide range of their insincerity, duplicity and pretense was their attitude toward the Polish Question.

Poland disappeared as an independent State through partition among Russia, Prussia and Austria (1772-1796). During the Revolution of 1848 Marx in his *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* spoke of the restoration of Poland. To the readers of his paper, who were very

much opposed to the annexation of parts of Poland by the German power, Marx's concept of restoring the small country appeared soundly and honestly worked out. No trickery of any sort was suspected. Indeed, seemingly, no deception in solving the Polish Question was possible. Many decent people in Russia, Prussia and Austria, not only Left workers but also Liberal Capitalists, raised the issue of the restoration of Poland by all three major powers.

Some years after 1848 Engels expatiated on the Polish problem by directly presenting the official aspects pursued by Marx and himself. He opened his discourse with a pertinent question:

"But why is it that in connection with Poland we constantly mention only Russia alone? Didn't the two German powers, Austria and Prussia, take part in the robbery? Isn't a part of Poland enslaved by them and aren't they, together with Russia, striving to suppress every Polish national movement?"

And with an offensive boldness Engels gave this brazen reply to the question he raised:

"Austria has sufficiently often indicated that oppression of weaker nations is habitual with its rulers. But in the case of Poland the instinct of self-preservation turned out to be stronger than the appetite for new territories or the habit of the Government. That's why at the present time the question has nothing to do with Austria.

"As to Prussia, the part of Poland which Prussia owns is too insignificant to have much weight . . . that's why we also think that the question has nothing to do with Prussia." (Engels, *Commonwealth*, March 1866, "Of What Concern is Poland to the Working Class." XIII, Pt. 1, R., 152)

Thus, by sufficiently contorting his language, using such terms as "self-preservation" and the like, in the case of robbery of Poland by Austria and the shabby excuse that the Prussian part of the wanton pillage was small, Engels designated only Russia to give up its part of the loot. This he did in defiance of all reason and logic. But this was not the real plan Engels prepared for Poland. Privately he formulated a different, a really atrocious scheme. This private plot is to be found in a letter to Marx three years after 1848;

"The more I think over the business the clearer it becomes to me that the Poles as a nation are done for, and can only be used of as an instrument until Russia herself is swept into the agrarian revolution. From that moment onwards Poland will have absolutely no more reason for existence. The Poles have never done anything in history [This is an unmitigated lie. What about some of the great minds and artists Poland produced? What about Copernicus? Chopin? G.S.] except play at brave, quarrelsome stupidity. And one cannot point to a single instance in which Poland represented progress successfully, even if only in relation to Russia, or did anything at all of historic importance." (Letter to Marx, May 23, 1851

This was the dishonest basis for a plot to drag Poland into absolute German Marxist enslavement:

"Conclusion. To take away as much as possible from Western Poland, to occupy her fortresses, especially Posen, with Germans, under pretext of defense, to let them make a mess of things for themselves, to drive them into fire, to eat up their country, to feed them on hopes of Riga and Odessa, and if the Russians can be got to move, to form an alliance with them and force the Poles to give way." (Ib.)

The Russian editors of *Marx-Engels Works*, witnessing the utter brutality of the Hitler-Stalin "unity" in dividing Poland and driving its workers, peasants, Capitalists, women into the awesome Nazi and Stalinist slavery, perhaps recalled the vicious proposal by Marx's closest friend and political partner to liquidate Poland through a German-Russian alliance.

IX. MARX AND THE PROUDONIST OPPOSITION IN HIS INTERNATIONAL

After the dismal failure of the 1848-1849 Revolution, Marx became a permanent resident of London. For a while he toyed with the idea of reviving the League, but he soon abandoned it. Up to 1864 he made no effort to form an organization. He journeyed almost daily to the British Museum, where, in its giant library he worked on the *Critique*, and immediately following on *Capital*. At home he was assisting Engels to write articles for the *New York Tribune*, and attended to correspondence.

But in 1864 a profound change came in Marx's life. A meeting was held on the 28th of September in London to protest the dismemberment of Poland. It was organized by a trade union of English workers, with a French workers' delegation participating. "Up to this meeting Marx had taken no active part in the movement, but he had been called upon by the Frenchman Le Lubez to be present at it on behalf of the German workers and to name a German worker as a speaker. Marx put forward Eccarius while he remained a silent observer on the platform." (Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx*, 349)

In a letter to Weydemeyer Marx explained the reason why he broke his nearly fifteen-year absence from participating in any movement: "Although for years I have systematically refused to take part in any 'organization,' I accepted this time because here there is a possibility of doing some real good." (Cited by Mehring, Ib.)

Except for the protest on Poland, the meeting showed very little

that it would do "some real good." Since there were present Polish, Italian, English, French, German, and other nationals, it was decided to launch an international organization and name the body International Working Men's Association. A committee was elected to draw up a program and rules, and Marx, in recognition of his intellectual superiority, was designated for the task.

The composition of the membership was such that if Marx had brought to the fore the *Communist Manifesto*, the whole enterprise would have immediately fallen apart. The members of the League of the Just, firmly adhering to the idea of abolishing the Capitalist system, though in a sort of vague fashion, greeted the *Manifesto*, faulty as it was, with unbounded enthusiasm, and its authors with a stirring admiration. It was different with the newly-launched International. Its members, the overwhelming majority of them, knew nothing, had never even heard of the *Communist Manifesto*. Had they ever read the document they would have driven Marx off the platform.

With his unusual brilliancy, Marx produced a document, the *Inaugural Address*, which marked a soothing effect on all the minds.

At the opening, putting out bait anew for the workers of all nations, he used the suffering of the working class as a lure: "It is a great fact that the misery of the working masses has not diminished from 1848 to 1864, and yet this period is unrivaled for the development of its industry and the growth of its commerce." And he proceeded to make an economic review of Europe, particularly England. Marx won the respect of most, but not entirely all, of the delegations present at St. Martin's Hall meeting.

From the very start a struggle began between the Marxists and the French followers of the father of Anarchism, Phoudhon, ostensibly on the ground of ideas, but on Marx's part definitely for the control of the organization.

At the Lausanne Congress of the International (Sep. 2-8, 1867) Marx sustained a withering blow since his French opponents dominated the gathering. Engels assuaged Marx's feelings by indicating that as long as Marx and he controlled the General Council of the International, they could very well ignore the decisions of the Congress. "This time, the French, evidently, indeed won the Congress, the number of Phoudhonist resolutions was too great. . . . However, in general these decisions have no significance whatever as long as the General Council remains in London." (Letter to Marx, Sep. 11, 1867; XXIII, R. 443)

Marx set about to prepare for the next year's Congress. Suddenly, Marx received information that the Paris police had seized the whole group of the leading members of the International. Who supplied the French authorities with the names and addresses of the arrested has never been discovered, just as in the frameup of

Gottschalk. In heightened spirit Marx wrote to Engels, "The French Government has opened the case against the Paris Committee of the International Working Men's Association (as an illegal society). I am very much satisfied since this prevented these asses from continuing the discussion of their program which they prepared for the Congress of 1868." (Letter, Jan. 11, 1868; XXIC R. 11)

In consequence, Marx, to his immense satisfaction, won the Brussels Congress—not by argument and friendly persuasion but by the welcome action of the Paris police.

But perhaps one might imagine that his remark to Engels, "I am very much satisfied," had been the manifestation of a momentary, fleeting minute, later regretted by Marx? Not at all! Several months after making that remark, he wrote to Engels: "Fortunately our people in Paris are in prison." (Letter, Aug. 28, 1868) Marx made this brutal remark while "our people in Paris" had been languishing in prison almost a year.

Only a coarse bureaucrat, without a shred of nobility of mind, given to contemptuous disbelief in the sincerity of motives and rectitude of conduct, would welcome police action to assist him in defeating opponents in his organization!

X. CAN MARX BE ACCUSED OF ANTI-SEMITISM?

When Karl Marx was six years of age his family became Protestants, because, as one of his biographers explains, "in Rhineland a century ago, the Jews were detested and shunned, and that to be a Jew was a serious handicap in a bourgeois career. . . . As soon as he began to come into contact with the Gentile world, and was intelligent enough to make comparisons, it was inevitable that he should feel his Jewish origin to be a disadvantage, a shackle upon his aspirations." (Otto Ruhle, *Karl Marx*, 12-13)

In its early stages the Marxist movement did not contain in its ranks a single Jew, and only one person of Jewish origin in its leadership, Karl Marx. But as the myth spread that the great Marxist swindle fought all reactionary tendencies, whereas, in reality, it did not oppose even chattel slavery, and in fact, secretly leaned toward supporting the bondage of the black people, the Jewish workers and intellectuals flocked to Marxism. In the eyes of hundreds of thousands of men, and later also of women, of the Jewish group, Marx's "scientific Socialism" seemed to be the long-awaited, long-sought for delivery for the nationality which for thousands of years, since the conquest of Judea by the Romans, had been hounded, beaten down, tortured, massacred, despised, and above all made use of in the role of a political scapegoat. Jewish Marxist press was born and grew. It lifted a loud voice of glorification, almost deification of the architect of "scientific Socialism."

On the eve of the 1914 War, Jewish workers and intellectuals crowded Social Democracy in all countries where Jews lived. In 1917 the leadership of the Bolshevik Party was comprised 40 percent of Jews, giving rise in the Capitalist countries to the charge that Lenin and the Jew, Trotsky, headed a "Jewish Revolution." Every "Communist" party or group in the west was studded with Jewish leaders. In the United States the "Communist" Party for several years was guided by Jews—Jay Lovestone, Bertram D. Wolfe, Benjamin Gitlow, William Weinstone, Jack Stachel, Moisaya J. Olgin, and many others. They all practically worshipped Marx. If a rank-and-filer approached one of them with a question, How to understand the following remark by Marx: "What is the secular basis of Judaism? Practical needs, egoism. What is the secular cult of the Jews? Huckstering. What is his secular God? Money." (*Works of Marx and Engels*, I, R., 393; *Sel. Essays*, 88). Doesn't that sound anti-Semitic? And again such a remark as "Exchange is the Jew's real God." A Jewish Marxist leader, who had shifted from honesty, in the course of corruption, to dishonesty, would reply, Oh, I read this several times. No, it is not anti-Semitic. How could a man like Marx, who himself was of Jewish origin, be anti-Semitic? This is part of the Capitalist lies about him. Read further, and you will clearly see that when he says "Jew" he means Capitalist. Here is what he says in an article entitled *The Holy Family*: "It has been proved that the task of abolishing Jewry is really the task of abolishing the Jewish spirit of bourgeois society, the inhumanity of modern living practice, the culminating point of which is the money system." (III, R., 137). Can't you see, he means the abolition of the Capitalist System when he says abolition of "Jewry"? This is very plain.

If the questioner, usually a Jewish worker, was of unaffected simplicity, charmed and mesmerized by the deceiving flamboyance of the Jewish bureaucrat, he would say, yes, now I see Marx used the term Jew synonymously with Capitalist. But if the plebeian inquirer suspended judgment and went on reading Marx's works, he would have discovered to his enlightening astonishment a variety of common, usually foul anti-Semitism. For instance, writing to Engels from Ramsgate while vacationing there, Marx remarked, "Even here there are many Jews and fleas." (Letter, Aug. 25, 1879; XXIV, R., 508). This remark does not yield to the explanation that Marx used "Jew" and Capitalist interchangeably. On the contrary, it testified to his anti-Jewish sentiment. To a person Marx disliked, if that person happened to be Jewish, he invariably attached the distasteful proper noun "Jew." Thus, "the Jew Fould" (Letter to Engels, Oct. 12, 1853), "the accursed Jew from Vienna" (Letter to Engels, May 25, 1859), "a Jew, one Mayer, a relative of a landlord from the city, also an English Jew named Levy."

(Letter to Engels Feb. 9, 1860).

In their private opinion regarding Lassalle, a writer and labor organizer of Jewish origin, Marx and Engels were crudely anti-Semitic. Engels wrote to Marx on March 7, 1856: "As a typical Jew from the Slav border, he is always ready to exploit everyone for his private ends." In the same letter Engels described Lassalle as "the dirty Jew from Breslau."

Officially, however, Marx and Engels maintained a friendly connection with Lassalle. During the American Civil War Lassalle visited Marx in London. Observing his guest's head at close quarters, Marx decided he discovered the real cue to the national and racial ancestry of Lassalle. He wrote to Engels: "As the structure of his skull and also the variety of his hair proves, he is descended from the Negroes who joined the mob headed by Moses during the exodus from Egypt (unless his grandmother on the father's side or his mother committed a sin with a Negro). Such a blend of Jewishness and Germanism with the Negro substance had to create an odd product." (Letter, July 30, 1862). Marx concluded the letter with these words: "Fortunately, the Jewish nigger Lassalle [der Judische Nigger Lassalle] is leaving next week."

During his political activity, Marx made one specific application of his anti-Semitism, and quite publicly. Back in the Revolution of 1848-1849 his *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* devoted much space to an attack on the Jews of the part of Poland held by Prussia, called the Grand Duchy of Posen.

There the Jews, upon whom the Prussian Government bestowed citizenship rights, had no interest to support the insurrectionary but thoroughly anti-Semitic Polish aristocracy, which staged pogroms against them. Its insurrection had been put down by the Prussian King, who, despite his own anti-Jewish sentiment, in this case supplied protection to the Polish Jews, but mainly to the German settlers who were attacked by the insurrectionists. Curiously, the majority of the Polish peasants did not take part in the pogroms on the Jews, nor for that matter in the assaults upon the German settlers. The London *Times* of April 7, 1848 reported: "The outrages against the Jewish and German population of the Grand Duchy continue . . . these and similar proceedings are unexpectedly opposed by the Polish peasant population of the Grand Duchy . . . It is possible that the peasants remember their old servitude, from which the King of Prussia liberated them."

Marx realized that the Polish nobility was considerably demoralized by its lack of success. Measuring the situation in the Grand Duchy as it was, he calculated that if the Polish insurrectionists could be aroused on a large scale to butcher the Jews and the German settlers, its spirit could be revived. So, to incite the Polish nobility to their lateral violence, Marx wrote: "The Germans and

the Jews—an insignificant minority of the population—are attempting to utilize the present situation in the country to secure domination." (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, June 9, 1848).

Pursuing his plan to inflame the Poles against the Jews, Marx reduced the Jewish population of Prussian Poland to the status of usurers, cheats, thieves, and parasites in general. Yet a statistical table for the period of 1830 to 1840, compiled by A. Ruppin, indicates a different picture for the Jewish population of Prussian Poland: "The three outstanding features of this table are: the small number of professional men, rentiers, and big business men among the Jews in Posen (46 per thousand as against 129 in the rest of Prussia); the large number of artisans (tailors, furriers, glass-cutters, button-makers, hatters, etc.)." (*The Jews in Modern World*, 111)

To Marx and Engels, the Jewish workers, living in grinding poverty and misery in Posen, simply did not exist. In the eyes of the founders of "Scientific Socialism" the Jews in general were a negative element in society, but the Polish Jews, Capitalists and workers, in particular, were "a repulsive tribe." Here are Marx's exact words:

"We established then that the German national fools and speculators from the Frankfort swamp parliament, in the census calculations still described as Germans the Polish Jews, although this repulsive tribe neither by its jargon nor by its origin, and only perhaps by its passion for gain, could be a relation of Frankfort." (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, April 29, 1849)

In this article Marx charged the Prussian Government with having turned its army upon the Grand Duchy of Posen "in order, in alliance with the Jews, to rob churches, burn down villages, and beat the Poles to death in public squares."

There can be detected a psychological connection between Fourier's anti-Semitic concoction about a Jewish merchant-crook, made available by Engels to the Left German readers, and Marx's anti-Semitic campaign two and a half years later. So what sort of a "proletarian" luminary was Marx's paper in the Revolution of 1848-1849? In concealment of Marx's real program about making use of Poland, about a German republic tailored on the French Jacobin model, about the paper's anti-Semitism, no one is commensurate with Lenin: "From June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published in Cologne with Marx as the actual editor-in-chief. His numerous articles published in that paper, which to this very day remains the best and unsurpassed organ of the revolutionary proletariat. . . ." (Lenin, *Karl Marx*, Col. Wks., XVIII, 48)

XI. MARX'S AND ENGELS' DEEP-SEATED GERMAN CHAUVINISM

The leaders of numerous branches of Marxism, Socialists and "Communists," those who serve Capitalism and those who are wishing to break it down and establish a bureaucratic slavery in its place, want their deceived followers to see Marx and Engels as representing true internationalism, that is, as advocates of a friendly association and cooperation of the workers of all nations, on the basis of equality, to enable the mass of humanity to achieve the unity of purpose in constructing the Socialist system. In sum, their stunning picture of Marx and Engels presents the true master-swindlers in a distorted image.

That the founders of "Scientific Socialism" held all classes of Poles—the workers, peasants, Capitalists and aristocracy—in contempt, that they despised the Jews, resenting the fact they were classified as German citizens, bracketing the Jews with fleas, scornful of the black people, has already been presented in this work. To these can be added the Bulgarians. In a letter Engels "analyzed" the Bulgarian people and came to a "scientific" conclusion on the basis of reading some trashy compilation of supposedly popular Bulgarian songs: "The Bulgarians have characterized themselves in these folk songs compiled recently by a Frenchman and published in Paris. A large part in these songs is taken up with fires. A house is burning, a young woman perishes in the fire because her husband prefers to rescue his black mare instead. In another song a young woman is salvaging her ornaments and leaves her child in the fire. If by way of exception something is said about some noble, courageous act, it is always performed by a Turk. Where else, then, in the world will you find such a piggish people?" (Letter to Bernstein, Feb. 22, 1882; XXIII, R., 196)

After Bulgaria gained her independence from the frightfully oppressive Turkish enslavement, Engels declared: "For the Bulgars and for us it would have been incomparably better if they had remained under Turkish rule until the European revolution." (Letter to Bernstein, Oct. 9, 1886; XXVII, R., 497)

Engels generally looked at the Balkan people as upon so much filth—"the lousy Balkan people" (Letter to Bebel, Dec. 1882) At the other end of the national scale from the vile and the worthless according to Marxist judgment stood the German nation to which Engels by birth and Marx by adoption belonged. In the highly subjective account of the supposedly international character of Marxist "scientific Socialism" Engels, in his Introductory Note to the *Peasant War in Germany*, declared: "German scientific Socialism—the only scientific Socialism that ever existed." Discussing *Capital*, Engels praised the magnificence of German percep-

tiveness and quickness of comprehension. He said about Marx's book, "it belongs to the category of works which do honor to the German mind." (XIII, Pt. 1, R., 2221)

Every fiber in the brains of Marx and Engels was tinged with indelible German chauvinism. A Marxist historian, Mehring, cites a letter from Engels to Sorge: "You were Germans forty years ago with the German capacity for theory, and therefore the *Manifesto* had its effect on you, but although it was translated into English, Flemish, Danish, etc., it had absolutely no effect on the other peoples." (Karl Marx, 338) Quite conscious that the author of *Capital* was a Jew, Engels, totally immoderate in his habit of elevating the German nation above all others, declared: "Of all the people, the German in the greatest degree, and perhaps virtually they alone, possess the historical understanding, and, therefore, in the nature of things, it is precisely a German who uncovers the historical relations also in the domain of political economy." (220) And again: "The relation between capital and labor, the axis on which our entire present system of society turns, is here treated scientifically for the first time and with a thoroughness and acuity such as was possible only for a German." (Sel. Wks. I, 338) In his work *The Housing Question* Engels speaks of the "Address of the General Council on the Civil War in France, written by a German, Marx."

Marx himself never admitted he was by birth a Jew. "I am by birth a German," he wrote to Bolte on November 23, 1871.

XII. MARX AND ENGELS SUPPORT BISMARCK IN THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

The Congress of Vienna (1815) organized and directed by the monarchs of Prussia, Austria and Russia, meeting on the heels of Waterloo, established a German Confederation of thirty-eight States, composed of seven grand duchies, four self-governing cities, five kingdoms, and a number of principalities. During the Napoleonic Wars Austria had been the leader of all Germanic States except Prussia. But following the Congress, Prussia, oversensitive and jealous of the Austrian tradition of hegemony in the German nation, proceeded to assert its intention of becoming the guide of the fragmented Teutonic race.

In 1849, when the Revolution was receding, the Frankfort Assembly offered the Prussian king the title of German Emperor, but he drew back because the proposal came from the middle class representatives, not from the sovereign princes with whom Prussia did not have sufficient prestige. A more realistic reason was the rivalry of Austria, and another valid cause for rejection, the warranted presumption of opposition from France. The leading French Capitalists and their President, later Emperor, Napoleon's nephew,

Louis Napoleon, viewed with a feeling of uneasiness the prospect of having a united Germany on their border.

In September 1862 a new strategic figure arose in Prussia. He was uniquely fitted for the task of unifying the lesser German States into a mighty empire under the domination of the Prussian kingdom. This pointedly qualified, gifted man was Count von Bismarck, who became President of the Ministers of Prussia. Developing an accurate eye for the problem he undertook, Bismarck realized the harsh reality that the imperial house he was planning to build could never be created unless Prussia won two armed encounters, one with Austria and the other with France.

He proceeded methodically and quite masterfully. First and foremost he greatly improved the military mechanism of Prussia, adding new regiments, enlarging its arsenal, strengthening its discipline. Meantime he manipulated several clever diplomatic moves calculated to disturb and irritate Austria, and arouse it against the Prussian State. Thus, in 1866 he proposed to form a German union which would exclude Austria. The pro-Austrian members of the Confederation called upon its ward State, which was invested with a special supervisory authority, to bring Prussia to obedience. Bismarck declared the step unconstitutional, withdrew from the Confederation and opened military action against a number of member States, which were under indirect Austrian charge. Immediately war with Austria ensued as a consequence, and in the battle at Sadowa (July 3, 1866) Bismarck completely drowned the Austrian hegemony in the blood of the Germanic soldiers of both States.

Universally recognized, the vital internal obstacle for unification of the lesser German States under the leadership of Prussia was removed. But the cautious Bismarck, quite clear that an important peripheral impediment, France, stood in his way, and that should he launch the empire a war would follow which might prove disastrous for Prussia at that time. He decided to build yet an even stronger military force than the one he employed against Austria.

Four years after Sadowa, in July 1870, the Prussian intriguer, pushing his plan by artifice, arranged for Spain to invite Leopold Hohenzollern, a member of the Prussian royal family, to occupy the then vacant Spanish throne. This appeared to be a mode of German encirclement of France. Louis Napoleon immediately objected. Bismarck, by all odds the shrewdest statesman-plotter and manipulator in Europe, secretly welcomed the objection, for it fell neatly in with his design. He caused the invitation to be withdrawn, but the version of the dispatch containing the abandonment of the project was so revised by him as to sound very insulting to the French Emperor. The insolent tone of the doctored dispatch provoked Louis Napolean into a flaming rage. On the 19th of July 1870 he snapped at Bismarck's bait and declared war against Prussia.

In response to Bismarck's official request for war credits, two Social Democratic representatives in the North German Reichstag, Bebel and Liebknecht, generally and notably followers of Marx, abstained from voting. They clearly perceived that since 1866 Prussia was not an idyllically peaceful country but on a full-length policy of preparations for war—obviously against France. Their declaration stated:

"We cannot grant the financial resources demanded of the Reichstag for the conduct of the war, because this would be a vote of confidence in the Prussian Government, which prepared the present war by the course of action in 1866. It is equally impossible for us to refuse the money demanded, for this might be taken as a justification for the vicious and criminal policy of Bonaparte."

By their stand, Bebel and Liebknecht relayed the information to the German workers, and to the peoples of all nations, that Bismarck did not deserve confidence, that the pressure to shed blood, at first in 1866 by Germans against Germans, and now by the Germans against the neighboring French, was a criminal business, in which Bismarck, in the main, was responsible; at the same time they went a long way in presenting their antagonism to the professional adventurer and usurper of State power in France, Louis Napoleon.

Three weeks after Bebel and Liebknecht refused to acquiesce in Bismarck's request for war credits, Engels in a letter to Marx dated August 15, 1870, expressed criticism of the two men: "The whole mass of the German people of every class have realized that this is first and foremost a question of national existence and have therefore at once flung themselves into it. That in these circumstances a German political party should preach total obstruction *a la* Wilhelm (Liebknecht) and place all sorts of secondary considerations, seems to me impossible." (*Selected Correspondence*, 295)

Manifesting exhilaration, Engels used deceptive reasoning to justify his approval of Bismarck's policy: "First of all, just as in 1866, Bismarck is doing a share of our work; he is doing it in his own way and without wanting to, but nevertheless he is doing it. He is giving us a clearer field than we had before. . . . Liebknecht's desire to turn back the whole course of history since 1866, just because it does not please him, is nonsense." (Letter, Aug. 15, 1870)

Not surprisingly to those who knew Bismarck since he came to power, and Marx and Engels were second to none in this knowledge, the architect of the German Empire, possessing quickness of dexterity, in control of the finest and strongest army in Europe at that time, allowed the French to invade German territory in order to draw international attention to the aggressiveness of the enemy: Engels understood the maneuver. He wrote to Marx: "It is a good thing that the French were the first to invade German territory.

When the Germans follow on the heels of a repelled invasion this, undoubtedly, creates an altogether different impression in France than if they were to enter France without a prior invasion. Thanks to this the war appears more Bonapartist on the side of France." (Letter, July 31, 1870. XXIV, R., 365)

Research reveals that in this war of two imperialist powers Marx and Engels felt in sympathy with Bismarck. They were fascinated by the high quality of his army and even claimed his victories as their own. Thus, "My confidence in the military strategy of the Germans is growing stronger daily. And so, we have indeed won the first serious battle." (Ib. 364, *My emphasis—G.S.*)

Elated almost beyond words over Bismarck's brilliant victory at Weissenburg, Engels wrote rapturously to Marx, "But what do you say about our soldiers who take a fortified position with bayonets against mitrailleuses and magazine rifles? Molodets (brave fellows)!" (373)

Apropos of the line of support to the Prussian King and the German aristocracy assumed by Marx and Engels in the Franco-Prussian War, and opposition to that war by Liebknecht and Bebel, a point in Lenin's politics is worth mentioning. In the 1914 War, arguing against the leaders of German Socialists who supported the Kaiser, Lenin resorted to a legerdeemainist trick by using only one word. He said, "Even at the beginning of the war of 1870-71 Marx and Engels *approved* (my emphasis—G.S.) Bebel's and Liebknecht's refusal to vote for military appropriations." (Lenin, *Socialism and War*, Col. Wks., XVIII, 228)

If Lenin had said *disapproved* he would have accurately described the attitude Marx and Engels assumed toward their followers.

The central point Marx and Engels agreed upon was that Bismarck's victory would centralize the German working class. On that basis it was *impossible* for them to approve the position of not granting financial support to Bismarck. On July 20, 1870 Marx wrote to Engels: "The French need a thrashing. If the Prussians win, the centralization of the state power will be useful for the centralization of the German working class." That was why in the official Address on the War, Marx declared, "On the German side, the war is a war of defense."

Lenin knew all that. He was quite familiar with Marx's and Engels' enthusiasm regarding the bravery of Bismarck's soldiers. He could not have missed their disapproval of the conduct of Bebel and Liebknecht in the Reichstag, in reading *Marx-Engels Correspondence*. To prop up his 1914 position against the Tsar, Lenin was constrained to tell a lie that Marx and Engels *approved* the position Bebel and Liebknecht took against Bismarck.

Lenin was not alone in deceptively presenting Marx's attitude toward Bebel and Liebknecht and also toward Bismarck. Every-

body of note in Lenin's camp, or nearby, shares Lenin's shameless lie. For instance, the two biographers of Marx, Nicolaievsky and Maenchen-Helfen, write: "In the summer of 1870, when the Franco-Prussian war broke out, Marx did not hesitate for a moment. . . . He was indignant at the leaders of the Lassalle faction, who gave unconditional support to the Prussian Government in making war on France, but approved of Bebel and Liebknecht, who voted against war credits, though he did not agree with their reasons. It seemed obvious to Marx that in the struggle with Bismarck there could be no truce, even in war." (*Karl Marx*, 304)

XIII. MARX AND ENGELS BETRAY THE PARIS COMMUNE

On September 2-3, 1870 Bismarck inflicted a crushing defeat on the French forces at Sedan, in the Department of Ardenne, France. The whole French army together with Louis Napolean was taken prisoner. The next day, in Paris, several leading conservatives and Liberal Republicans established themselves in power under the title "The Government of National Defense." The new regime organized 300,000 workers of Paris into a National Guard to defend the city against the Prussians and their German allies. This act served to demonstrate conformity with the name of the Government. But as the oncoming events established that act as well as the name were misleading. The plan, crystallized a few weeks hence, was to capitulate to Bismarck, make peace and disband the National Guard.

After a show of resistance to the besieging German army, Thiers and the other leaders of the Government in Paris secretly approached Bismarck's high command with a proposal to open talks for ending hostilities. On January 28, 1871 they surrendered Paris, but because of the 300,000 armed workers ensconced behind barricades, Bismarck hesitated for many days to occupy the city. At length, on March 1, 1871, his soldiers marched through empty streets lined with improvised fortifications with the workers looking on with undisguised hostility. A battle might have broken out at any minute. To avoid a frightful encounter, with the possibility of defeat, he withdrew his troops from Paris without delay.

Upon Bismarck's withdrawal, the "Government of National Defense," headed by Thiers, faced the National Guard with great anxiety. The task was to break it up. But Thiers hesitated. After more than two weeks of indecision, Thiers ventured upon direct action to disarm the workers. Acting provocatively, without any attempt at negotiation with the commanders of the National Guard, he sent a small group of soldiers, at night, to seize their canon. The results were unexpected and far-reaching. The people

guarding the guns objected, and stood pat in refusing to give them up. The officers ordered the soldiers to fire on the recalcitrants, but were not obeyed, and upon repetition of the orders, they arrested the officers. The workers went wild with enthusiasm. By noon of March 18, 1871 the insurrection had swept over the city.

Having no enforcement powers, astonished, panic-stricken, Thiers and his associates in the Government fled to Versailles, followed by the police and joined by the wealthiest elements of Paris. In response to the general rising, the Central Committee of the National Guard, now the sole power in the city and eager to relinquish the administration to the representatives of the population of Paris, announced the date for the election to the Commune, a local self-governing body reminiscent of the Commune of Paris during the Jacobin regime.

What was Marx's reaction to the workers' insurrection in Paris? To form a clear picture, one must go back a little in search of any helpful signs. Four days after Louis Napoleon declared the opening of hostilities against Prussia, Marx, acting as the head of the International, the leader of its General Council, drew up an Address on the conflict. In it, of course, he inserted his line on support to Bismarck through these words. "On the German side, the war is a war of defense." On the heels of Sedan, immediately following the formation of the "Government of National Defense," Marx presented his position on the new regime to the General Council, and having secured the approval of its membership sat down, without even a day of delay, to draw up what is known as the Second Address on the war. In it Marx outlined his support to the republic headed by Thiers: "We hail the advent of the Republic in France."

But when Thiers and his republic were toppled in Paris, Marx was silent. A week passed. On the 26th of March elections were held in Paris and the Commune was set up. In the wake of the announcement of the establishment of what Engels later described as a "dictatorship of the proletariat," immense mass meetings were held throughout Paris, and the crowds in a state of impassioned emotion, ardently shouted: "Vive la Commune!" Marx was silent. His Second Address on the War had concluded with the enthusiastic "Vive la République!" But there was no response of any kind from Marx to the greeting shout of the Paris workers. And the shout rang out not only in Paris, and not only in France. In Germany some workers met Prussian soldiers returning home from the front with the cry "Long live the Commune!"

Upon cool analysis, it is clear that the workers of Paris had singularly very little, virtually nothing to expect from the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," the Central Committee of the National Guard system. The political composition of the Council of the Commune, numbering 92 members, was a riot of diverse views and

opinions, a greenhouse of skyrocketing delusions, not a staff to lead society to Socialism. Here were assembled followers of the Russian Anarchist Bakunin, of the French Anarchist Proudhon, Blanquists, Left Liberals, neo-Jacobins, freelancing idealists that usually hang around on the fringes of the workers' movements, a number of plain adventurers, a few writers, a few shopkeepers, and a group of men strongly devoted to Marx, counting seventeen, led by Varlin and Frankel.

The internal policy of the Council of the Commune was confined to such insignificant reforms as would have made President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal look like real Socialism. It failed to introduce unemployment insurance, care for needy children, pensions for the aged, control over rents, or any other vital social measure. It made no move to occupy the State bank, to run the industry — a policy eschewed by the Leninist bureaucracy. Its reforms were confined to the ideological field, but it did not go far afield. It promised the workers to build a new world society, to banish wars. As a corroborative proof that its promise of universal peace was real, it demolished Napoleon's Column Vendome, with the statue of the Emperor on top, adjudging it to be a symbol of brutal conquest and bloodshed.

But the spectacular workers' insurrection of 18 of March, and the setting up of the Commune on the 26, constituted a direct challenge to the capitulatory Thiers regime, obvious to the whole world, a menace to Bismarck, which could not escape Bismarck's extraordinary perception, and represented a serious possibility of inflicting a crippling blow to Marx's political career, visible only to two men in the entire human race, Marx and Engels.

To Marx the colossal advantage of German victory was crystal clear, as his letter to Engels shows: "German predominance would also transfer the center of gravity of the workers' movement in Western Europe from France to Germany, and one has only to compare the movement in the two countries from 1866 till now to see that the German working class is superior to the French both theoretically and organizationally. Their predominance over the French on the world stage would also mean the predominance of our theory over Proudhon's" (Letter, July 20, 1879).

Marx's success or failure to establish his hegemony in the Workers' movement in the world was directly tied to the victory or defeat of Bismarck's army.

The launching of the Commune in Paris ignited France. The workers in a number of lesser cities established Communes, in Lyons, St. Etienne, Creuzot, Marseilles, Toulouse, and Marbonne. In that, the threat to the Thiers regime, to Bismarck, and to Marx was growing, rapidly, and with it was crystallizing a sentiment among the French population contrary to the supreme psychology

evinced by Thiers and his "Government of Defense" toward the Prussian invasion. The interlocking of the provincial Communes with Paris, the removal of the impotent set in Versailles, would have resulted in the encompassing of Bismarck's regiments in France. The national military tempest of the French Revolution against the Feudal monarchs of Europe would have been repeated. During that stupendous upheaval, in the years 1792 and on, the whole population of the country rose in response to the call "La Patrie en Danger," and under the stirring strains of the *Marsellaise*, the French soldiers marched through Paris and other cities, struck violently and drove the invading Prussians back. Now there were already signs indicating that only a match was needed to blow up the "peace," really a dismal surrender with giving up two provinces and an obligation of a heavy contribution, concluded by Thiers. A new French army was being assembled on the Loire. A sudden "Fog of War" was being carried on with great fervor by workers, peasants, partisans against Bismarck's forces. Even before the dramatic "peace," on November 9, 1870, two months after the fall of the Empire, the Prussians, whom Engels in fascination described as "Molodets" heroes, suffered a severe military debacle at Coulmiers. There were invaluable indications that the small and scattered spasmodic and sporadic actions of the French masses against the finest army of that period in Europe could be transformed, under the leadership of the Paris Commune, into a colossal rout of the Prussian forces. History is replete with records of transformation of overwhelming defeats into stupendous triumphs. The most notable, and not too distant in history, are two examples. In 1812, Napoleon, having wiped out half of the Russian Army at Borodino, entered Moscow. In 1814 Tsar Alexander I rode into Paris. Somewhat similarly, the Nazis, possessing the most powerful military machine at the time, in June 1941 smashed into Russia on a wide front, advanced to the Volga River, occupied a large part of the Caucasus. Hitler announced that Russia was beyond recovery. In 1945 Stalin's artillery shattered Berlin.

Marx, one of the greatest students of the French Revolution, was keenly aware of the danger to Germany should the masses of France take for their ideological mainspring the profound anti-Prussian and generally anti-royalist spirit of 1792. In his Second Address on the War, in which he hailed the rise of Thiers authority, a regime that didn't even have a constitution, fixed in a position of governing France by a small group of elite citizens, not chosen by a popular vote, Marx advised the French workers against becoming imbued with the spirit of 1792: "The French workmen must perform their duties as citizens, but at the same time, they must not allow themselves to be swayed by the national souvenirs of 1792 . . ."

The current masters of Paris, from the start of their sway, in a rainbow of political colors, manifested political incompetence. The key of the policy should have been the sending of a few battalions of the National Guard to Versailles to depose Thiers and his companions, and reorganize the war against the imperial manipulator Bismarck. But the leaders of the Commune devoted their time and attention to trivialities. They were totally different from the men who guided the French Revolution. Those were in a class by themselves. Extremely aggressive, barbarously cruel, consumed with fierce and far-reaching ambitions for personal power, masking these negative traits with bombastic talk about struggling for "liberte, egalite, fraternite" they introduced despotism, a chapter of horrors called the Reign of Terror, and backed by workers, peasants and merchants-profiteers and manufacturers, vigorously fought against the coalition of Prussia, Austria, Spain, Holland, Great Britain, Naples and other states.

The year 1792 was a memorable date in the history of the French Revolution. The Prussians and Austrians, who invaded France, were driven out. The French won Chambery and Nice. In September they gained a brilliant victory at Volmy, on November 6 they defeated the Austrians at Jemappes.

When the Thiers circle formed its "Republique," Marx, dreading the spirit of 1792, wrote to Engels: "I have set everything in motion here so that the workers (a series of meetings will open up on Monday) should compel their government to recognize the French Republic." (Letter, Sept. 10, 1870, XXIV, R., 398)

On January 23, 1871, Marx's International led a mass demonstration in Trafalgar Square, demanding an honorable peace for the French Republic. The speakers addressing a huge crowd concluded their talks with the cry "Vive la Republique!"

When the Republic was overthrown in Paris, and the Commune was proclaimed, greeted by the masses of that vast metropolis with an arousal of spirit and, trusting this was the beginning of the foundation of a universal republic, with happy shouts, "Vive la Commune," Marx silently slunk away from the scene of action and participation in the French affairs.

The world was astir by the news from Paris. In virtually every country of the globe politically thinking people were sharply divided in their attitude toward the Commune. Most animated and joyous were the radical intellectuals and workers who highly acclaimed the proclamation of the Commune as phenomenally representing, in their live imagination and coarse ignorance, a faithful reproduction of their mental picture of Socialist beginning. The position of the top personnel of all governments viewed the Commune with undisguised hostility. Pondering the unprecedented development in Paris, kings, emperors, the Tsar, the Sultan of

Turkey, the big tycoons of industry and finance in America, the military leaders, the tyrants of the Orient, looked upon the new government in Paris as upon a stark outrage against legitimate authority. And wonder of wonders, though separated from them all by an unbridgeable political gulf, but enmeshed with their overt animosity, secretly, was Karl Marx. Quite consonant with his mysterious silence, he arranged no meetings in any of the numerous and usually available halls in London, did not spring to action of conducting demonstrations in Trafalgar Square or Hyde Park, and, most significant, did not hasten to put forth an address to the working class, greeting the Left regime in Paris. The General Council of the International on March 28, two days after the elections to the Commune, ten days after the March 18 insurrection, passed a decision that Marx draw up an address to the workers of Paris, hailing the formation of the Commune. Marx ignored the decision.

Meantime, the chiefs of the Commune adopted the policy exclusively of defense. In their general ineptitude and military absurdity, they proceeded to keep the masses of Paris in a state of confidence that the heads of the partly defunct Republic would not dare to attack the city. The naive argument was that Thiers with his gendarmes and police could not measure up to the strength of Paris. The historian and a soldier of the Commune, Lissagaray, writes: "On the 19 of March, what remained to Mr. Thiers wherewith to govern France? He had neither an army, nor cannon, nor large towns." (*History of the Commune of 1871*, 271)

Taking full advantage of the naive simplicity and military myopia of the leadership of the Commune, Thiers fixed his star on the hope of assembling a sufficient force to move on the capital. But even two weeks after the 18 of March insurrection, despite the fact that he and his staff operated with great vigor, the special correspondent of the London *Times* reported: "I was at Versailles yesterday, and found the place full of war and rumors of war . . . but all these preparations are worthless without troops upon whom their leaders can count, and such troops are in a painful minority." (*Times*, March 31, 1871)

Having gathered a few thousand marines, gendarmes, zouaves and a few of the police, Thiers brought them before the forts of Paris, and on April 2, 1871 he opened the bombardment of the city.

The 300,000 workers comprising the National Guard and the million members of their families, having lived in the ecstasy of rapture because of a dream of constructing a new society, woke from their trance. Lissagaray recorded: "At the report of the cannon all Paris started. No one believed in an attack, so completely did all, since the 28th, live in an atmosphere of confidence." (163)

The mood of the workers of Paris changed rapidly from the serene

complaisance to the tempestuous determination. Most of them understood clearly that a change of policy from passivity to action was needed. The leaders of the Commune were now pressed to advance beyond their sentimental slogans and the welter of empty words. Clearly, the situation required to repeat a lesson from the French Revolution, when on October 5, 1789, the women of Paris marched to Versailles to arrest the King. The attack by Thiers upon a peaceful city demanded a new march on Versailles, to depose Thiers. "At three o'clock 80,000 men were on their legs crying 'To Versailles!' The women excited the battalions, and spoke of marching in the vanguard." (163)

It must be emphasized that the invisibly potential issue between Paris and Versailles was not abolition or preservation of Capitalism, since the Commune authorities did not touch even a feather of Capitalist industry, did not make even a beginning of a turn upon the road to Socialism. It was whether French Capitalism, under the political wing guided by Thiers, would maintain the inglorious peace with Bismarck, surrender to Germany Alsace and Lorraine and pay a heavy contribution, or, under the Left Capitalist wing embodied in the Commune, armed with a self-assertive policy, would demolish the peace and renew war against Prussia.

It must be noted that the leaders of the Commune did not recognize the surrender to Prussia arranged by Thiers. This significant fact alone is sufficient to show that had the policy of *defense only* been dropped and a line of defiant counterblast substituted, the war against the Prussians would have been resumed, carried on probably to a victorious conclusion.

The leaders of the Commune split widely on the military issue. A small minority was born, and responding to the aroused spirit of the men and women of the working class of Paris, insisted upon immediate opening of a drive on Versailles. But the vast, placid majority stood adamantly for *defense only*.

Completely in the dark regarding Marx's strange policy, the General Council of the International was meeting regularly, sometimes with him present, often in his absence, but invariably remaining under his influence. With a strong faith in his outstanding intellect, his exquisit craftsmanship as demonstrated in his two addresses in the Franco-Prussian War, they waited patiently for his address on the Commune.

On Tuesday April 4, 1871, two days after Thiers opened the shelling of the city, the General Council met, and stimulated by the sudden crucial urgency in Paris, strongly insisted that Marx, with no further delay, draw up the long overdue address. Marx was absent, but Engels, attending the meeting, used the opening of the war against the Commune as an excuse for further delay in issuing the address. The record of this is found in a work issued in Moscow

by the Stalinist bureaucracy entitled *Karl Marx, Chronology of his Life and Activity*, in Russian, which tells what happened that day at the meeting of the General Council: "April 4. At the session of the General Council, Marx's proposal, presented by Engels, is adopted to temporarily refrain from issuing an appeal 'To the population of Paris' in view of the latest events (the beginning of military action between Paris and Versailles.)" (290)

The London *Times* of April 13, 1871 quoted Clusaret, the military chief of the Commune: "I repeat the order to remain strictly upon defensive." The workers of Paris, who had implicit trust in Clusaret, in his apparent devotion to the ideal of building a new society, did not know that only a few years back, this leading general of the Commune, a regime which later Engels described as "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," had been an officer in the army of the Confederate States of America fighting to maintain the chattel bondage of black people. (*London Times*).

Marx and Engels, who read in the Capitalist press, particularly in the London *Times*, everything pertaining to the Commune, understood that Clusaret, whose policy of being strictly on the defensive, a strategy he had never followed in America, could arouse suspicions of betrayal, and should not be trusted. They, themselves tainted with siding with the cause of chattel slaveholders, maintained silence.

The workers of Paris were fighting their enemies at the gates of the city, and betrayed by their "friends" in London, the leaders of the International Working Men's Association, Marx and Engels.

Bismarck understood the danger of intervening in the French Civil War. It would have put Thiers at once into the category of Bismarck's agents and would have produced a high-spirited environment for a nation-wide uprising against both Thiers and Bismarck. So he aided Thiers by magnanimously releasing a number of regiments of the French imperial army captured at Sedan. Among several high officers set free was the seasoned Bonapartist, General Mac Mahon.

Alarmed voices, dreading the consequences of the steadily unfolding drama, appealed to the Liberal world to save the Commune. The British republicans, all of Left Liberal ideology, sincere reformers, determined fighters against aggressive wars, against child labor, against excessive exploitation of the working class, conducted a campaign to aid the Commune. Marx and Engels did not make even the barest pretense of working with them. Engels, on Marx's tide of evasion, introduced a policy of obstruction against them. He warned Liebknecht: "Dear Liebknecht: I am informing you hurriedly about the so-called 'International Democratic Association,' probably utterly unknown to you, which therefore could be confused with us. . . . Since these people last Sunday again organized

in Hyde Park a meeting in connection with the Paris Commune . . . (they even spread the rumor that we supposedly sent there representatives, although we gave the deputation sent to us our categorical refusal) and since they now want to form also affiliated sections on the Continent and will probably send to you a corresponding proposal—it is necessary to tell you who these people are." (Letter, April 20, 1871. XXVI, R., 110)

Darkly shadowed by their secret wish to see the Commune destroyed, Marx and Engels were hard at work sabotaging any aid lent to the Commune, even purely verbal. Prior to the Commune, they engaged the General Council in all sorts of united fronts with all sorts of Left organizations on all sorts of issues. They made it a regular practice to collaborate in meetings with Liberals and reformers, like the banker Langly of the Sunday League, even with the reactionary Urquartites. But they flatly refused to participate in any meeting called in support of the Commune.

Four days before Engels warned Liebknecht against the Republicans a tremendous meeting assembled in Hyde Park and the organizers of the affair read an address to the Paris workers. Next day, April 17, 1871, the London *Times* reported that the address was "adopted by the people of London assembled in public meeting convened by the International Democratic Association." The *Times* printed a part of the address: "We wish you success in your heroic defense of the Commune, and trust the other great centers of industry in France will prove true to their Republican traditions, and emulate your illustrious example."

On the 25th of April at a session of the General Council, Marx solemnly assured its members that "The Manifesto must be read at the next session." (*From the Unpublished Minutes of the General Council of the First International, Bolshevik*, 1933, No. 6, R., III) The fact is, at the time he gave the General Council his positive assurance to read the manuscript about a week later, he did not even begin to write it. The Stalinist collectors of material on Marx's day-to-day life show this quite clearly: "About the 1st of May, Marx commences writing the Manifesto on the Commune (The Civil War in France)." (*Karl Marx, Chronology of his Life and Activity*, R., 292)

As the middle of May approached, the bloody struggle between the greatly reinforced army under General Mac Mahon and the workers' battalions locked in Paris assumed giant proportions. Pulses quickened in many cities of the world. Marx very energetically worked on the Manifesto, and meanwhile sent a letter to his adherents in the Commune, Frankel and Varlin, with a really chloroforming content: "I have written several hundred letters in behalf of your cause to every corner of the world where we have branches." (Letter, May 13, 1871. XXVI, R., 118 *Sel. Cor.* 311)

This assertion is most interesting. Marx's statement that he had sent several hundred letters "in behalf of your cause" to every branch of the International is the catacomb of all arguments attempting to whitewash him in his betrayal of the Commune. It calls for a painstakingly detailed attention of the researcher, who must press the question again and again. Where are those "several hundred letters"?

Since no sections of the International had been formed in Asia, Africa, Australia and South America, the branches that existed were confined to Europe and the United States. And since Marx said he had written several hundred letters, each branch should have received at least a dozen of them. The Marxists, Social Democrats, Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, their historians, scholars, members of editorial staffs, editors of journals, of Soviet encyclopedias, and above all, one of the greatest tracers through the works of the founders of "scientific Socialism," Lenin, who was a thorough student of the history of the Commune, never mentioned explicitly or even implicitly any such letters. The keen-nosed researchers under Stalin, Khrushchev and under Brezhnev have worked tirelessly in their studious inquiry and examination to bring to completion the huge task of collecting every word Marx ever put on paper in connection with the Paris Commune. Not even one of the hundreds of letters Marx said he had written was found by them. Lenin, of course, read Marx's letter to Varlin and Frankel. But he went around it in silence, because he understood.

If from nothing else, from this letter by Marx to his leading followers in Paris, it was obvious to Lenin, who was a man of acute discernment, that Marx's assertion about "several hundred letters" in support of the Commune, was a barefaced, outrageous lie, that Marx was guilty of a malignant conspiracy against the misled workers of Paris and their stupid and, in many cases, adventurist leaders!

But why such a huge lie? Why didn't Marx tell Varlin and Frankel, and through them, naturally, to the leaders of the Commune, that he had written ten or twenty-five letters? Because Marx was not a half-witted teller of falsehoods. He was a fabulously brilliant and dexterous manipulator. He fully realized that the occasion was of world-wide significance and demanded universal arousal of the workers and Liberals in defense of the Commune. Owing to this, he magnified the lie to give the impression he was endeavoring to excite to action the entire International.

In his restless consciousness, feeling that huge though the lie was, it required supporting and balancing deception to be fully convincing. So in this very letter he further remarked: "Even the bourgeois papers in England have given up their early ferocity. I have succeeded in slipping some favorable paragraphs into them

from time to time."

This second lie, though of lesser dimensions than the "several hundred letters" fraud, can easily be explored. The files of the Capitalist press in England have been preserved, and the diligent, ubiquitous Marxist investigators could without any difficulty have found Marx's remarks favorable to the Commune—had he written them. All they unearthed in the Capitalist press bearing any connection of Marx's attitude toward the Commune, written by him, was a letter to the *Times* on April 4, 1871, two days after Thiers opened fire against Paris, in which Marx categorically scotched the rumor that the insurrection in Paris had been engineered by the International in London.

Frankel and Varlin, being imposed on their credulity by Marx, having no knowledge of his reactionary, revolting escapades, trusted him to the hilt. Meantime, with secret joy, Marx awaited the report that the Proudhonist, Bakunist, Jacobin and others of his opponents, had been arrested by Thiers, to face the firing squad.

On the 21st of May, after a heavy artillery bombardment, Mac Mahon's troops burst into Paris and the bloody week of the terrible battle of the barricades unfolded in passionate fury. Two days later, on May 23, Marx appeared at the session of the General Council and pleaded sickness for not finishing the address.

Far away from Paris and London, in dark Tsarist Russia, in St. Petersburg, a tiny illegal political journal, the *Bibbet*, issued by a small group of intellectuals under the leadership of one, Goncharov, printed an earnest appeal: "Respond, honest people, respond wherever you are, to the aid of Paris, which is going down in destruction." (Cited in *Literatura Nasledstvo*, No. 1)

But Marx and Engels, residing just across the Channel from the great tragedy, pretending honesty, displaying, quite hypocritically, eagerness to be a vehicle of service to the Commune, awaited the closing act with grim anticipation of delight.

The ferocious battle of the barricades came to an end. The victorious General MacMahon on the 28th of May overwhelmed the last defenders of the Commune, and immediately launched mass arrests and wholesale executions. Two days later, Marx submitted to the General Council the "address" which he titled *The Civil War in France*.

The document was not an address on the pattern of his two addresses on the war. It was a book of considerable dimensions. Necessarily it had to be a book, for a paper of two-three pages would have been incongruous given the fact that no illumination of any kind had been issued by the General Council in more than two months on the rising of the workers on March 18, no greetings to Paris on the proclamation of the Commune on March 28, no warning against the military preparations by Thiers, who was being

advised by Bismarck, no document of moral support through the whole period of the siege, over a month and a half, not one word of encouragement during the week of the epic war of the barricades.

The Civil War in France is a superbly executed, magnificent piece of writing. Marx interlaced it with a sparkle of bitterness over the disaster that befell the workers of Paris and interplayed it with fury and damnation against their executioners. It is a splendid historical achievement, a literary masterpiece, rich in detail, on the surface dazzling in penetration, a truly supreme product of the Marxist pen. Setting up an emotional storm of commiseration for the vanquished workers, Marx appeared to be suffering together with them and their families.

At the same time *The Civil War in France* is a classical example of political chloroform, deception, and omissions of vital scientific analysis of the nature of the leadership of the Commune, and of the policy pursued by the International from March 18 to May 28, the date of the windup of the most dramatic event in the history of the working class prior to the Bolshevik Revolution.

* * *

The Capitalist ideologists who profess to be attentive and systematic students of Marxism approach the subject of their investigation with more venom than reason, with a muckraking that excludes criticism in the interests of Socialism. The picture of Marxism emerging from the Capitalist books, journals, press, television and radio, though rigorously and profusely documented, is therefore an impressive construction of misshapen information. It is beguiling and misleading. And because the Marxist swindlers tell much truth about the ugly, exploiting aspects of Capitalism, and Capitalist swindlers do not present even a small crevice through which the rebellious workers and Left intellectuals can perceive their treacherous nature, the betraying acts of Marxism, the Marxist duplicity is universally accepted by the Socialist-minded dupes as representing a true movement for constructing the Socialist system.

But when an investigator sorts out political elements, he or she discovers that the Marxist savants in the knowledge of the inner springs of both Capitalism and Marxism, stand high above the Capitalist artists of the pen. Plekhanov, Kautsky, Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, even the lesser luminaries in the intricate Marxist system penetrated the innermost thoughts and reflections of Marx and Engels, decades after the two founders of the gigantic swindle betrayed the Paris Commune, participated in numerous acts of treachery and fraud. They were conscious demagogues and deliberate perverters of history. Presenting a massive front on Marx and Engels, safeguarded against the truth about these charlatans by a thick wall that has never been breached, they set up a pattern for

all Marxists to follow. Thus, picked at random, a top Stalinist trade union bureaucrat, Lozovsky, shamelessly lied: "When the Commune was proclaimed Marx immediately enlisted in the defense of this workers' government." (*Marx and the Trade Unions*, 79)

All the biographies of Marx written by Marxists or near-Marxists, by Liberals or ultra-reactionaries are mixtures of facts and falsifications. A "Communist" biographer of Marx, Franz Mehring, writes: "On the 18 of March Thiers attempted to seize the guns of the National Guard with the insolent lie that they were the property of the State although they had been cast during the siege at the cost of the National Guard and were recognized as the property of the National Guard in the agreement of the 28 of January. The attempt met with resistance and the troops detailed for the coup went over to the people. . . . It is necessary to stress the burning interest and sympathy with which Marx followed the development of these events." (*Karl Marx*, 473) Otto Ruhle wrote in a similar falsifying vein: "On March 19, 1871, the first number of the 'Journal Officiel,' the organ of the Commune was published in Paris. . . . Marx was overflowing with enthusiasm." (*Karl Marx*, 295)

But the incomparable master of falsifying the history of Marxism, of the Commune, a figure famed for scrutinizing minutely the political system, in all its major ramifications, proclaiming practically a monopoly on the current interpretation of Marx's doctrine, a man who probed deeply into all social issues in which Marx took a hand, was Lenin! In his work *State and Revolution*, which he wrote in 1917 while working at capturing the mind of the Russian masses, he lied: "But when in March 1871, the decisive struggle was forced upon the workers and they accepted it, when the rising had become a fact, Marx greeted the proletarian revolution with the greatest enthusiasm, in spite of the unfavorable auguries."

The above passage contains two meticulously combined frauds. The auguries were very favorable, recorded by Lissagaray, testified to by the London *Times*; Marx "greeted the proletarian revolution" only when he was sure that the last defenders of the Commune had fallen under the fire of General MacMahon!

Lenin's double-purpose fraud, to make the reader believe that the Commune was doomed from the start, and that, even despite the "hopelessness" of the March 18 rising, Marx did all he could to save it, when in actuality he had aided, indirectly, in its destruction, amounted, historically speaking, to participation in Marx's crime. That the crime on Lenin's part, or on Marx's, was *consciously perpetrated*, is corroborated by further research. In 1907 Lenin wrote a preface to Marx's *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, and if the falsification appearing in *State and Revolution* may be doubted as consciously conceived, there can be absolutely no question that

in that preface the perversion was done with a cool design to deceive the reader. First, Lenin lays out the never changing deception about Marx's impassioned emotion in support of the Commune. Lenin deals with the private letter Marx wrote to Kugelmann on April 12, 1871, ten days after Thiers opened the civil war: "On April 12, 1871 Marx wrote an enthusiastic letter to Kugelmann—a letter which we would gladly see hung on the wall of the home of every Russian Social Democrat and every literate Russian worker. In September 1870, Marx called the insurrection a desperate folly, but in April 1871, when he saw the mass movement of the people, he treated it with the great attention of a man participating in great events which marked a step forward in the world historic movement." And then Lenin, producing the impression that this private letter of Marx to a friend in Hanover, Germany, came to the attention and knowledge of the directors of the military affairs in Paris, slyly resorted to a real juggler's manipulation with words: "It was precisely the technical question of the insurrection that he discussed. Defense or attack? he asks, as if the military operations were taking place outside of London, and he decides that it must be attack: 'They should have marched at once on Versailles.' " (17)

Lenin knew, of course, that Marx in his communications with Varlin and Frankel never suggested they should, without wasting another minute, propose to the leaders to march on Versailles. Lenin knew that Marx did not discuss with them what tactic to pursue. Lenin realized that not a single leader in Paris knew of Marx's critical remark about the Commune privately expressed to Dr. Kugelmann. As a matter of fact, Lenin himself did not know of this remark and of the letter in which it appears until 1902, when Kautsky got hold of Marx's letters to Kugelmann and had them published.

But this alone does not exhaust the exposure of Lenin in connection with Marx's betrayal of the Commune. In quoting parts of the letter to Kugelmann, Lenin omitted the key sentence, "The right moment was missed." Since it was too late to weigh the question "Defense or attack?" Lenin's story that Marx "decides that it must be attack" is clearly established as a shameless fabrication.

XIV. THE FRAME-UP OF BAKUNIN

Most of his political life, Marx was a powerful dynamo capable of producing immense and lasting effects. But at times he occupied himself with base, trivial, small-minded matters unworthy of a supreme master of deception. After he successfully put out of the sight of his contemporaries the darkest of his offences against allegiance to the standard of an honest leader of the working class,

he became involved in the infamous frame-up of Michail Bakunin, an outstanding figure in the International.

Bakunin was a Russian aristocrat, who broke with his family and friend aristocrats, abandoned his estates and serfs in Russia, settled abroad, developed Anarchistic concepts of a pan-Slavist flavor, and became an important labor leader in Switzerland. He and Marx met and became friends. From the very start of their friendship, Bakunin felt that in the field of theory Marx was far more exalted in dignity and knowledge than himself. Bakunin acknowledged this fact freely in a letter to Marx dated December 22, 1868: "My dear friend, I understand more clearly than ever how right you were to follow the great path of economic revolution. . . . You see, therefore, my dear friend, that I am your pupil, and I am proud of it."

Bakunin headed a workers organization called The Alliance of Socialist Democracy. A short while after writing the above-cited letter the Alliance applied to Marx for membership in the International. The program of the Alliance was a mixture of various utopian ingredients, totally different from the general theoretical outlook of Marxism as expressed in the *Communist Manifesto* and in the Inaugural Address. But Marx, amicably disposed toward Bakunin, was utterly unconcerned about the program of Bakunin's organization. He wrote to Engels: "As to the program of the 'Alliance,' the General Council need not put it under a critical examination." (Marx, letter, March 5, 1869) He explained the reason: "in conformity with the principles of the International Working Men's Association, each section is responsible for its own program. Therefore, there are no barriers whatsoever to the transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the International Working Men's Association."

Never in the history of the International was a person more welcome as a member than Bakunin. For a while peace and friendship was enjoyed by both. Through a special arrangement between Marx and Engels on the one side and Bakunin on the other, the program of the Alliance was incorporated in the Marxist system, making the whole an exciting and fascinating bouquet of ideas, unique in its attractiveness to the uninformed victims.

Then, utterly unforeseen by anyone, Bakunin committed, in the eyes of Marx, a terrible offense, worse than a betrayal of the working class, infinitely more deserving censure than an act of treason to the great ideal of Socialism. What was it? Here are the facts. Marx sent to Bakunin a copy of his first volume of *Capital*. Later Bakunin described what had happened, or, to be accurate, what did not happen: "Then I made a terrible mistake: I forgot to write to Marx in order to thank him . . . Old Philip Becker, who had known Marx for a very long time, said to me when he heard of this forget-

fulness: 'What! You haven't written to him yet? Marx will never forgive you!'"

And Marx never did! Having waited in vain day after day and week after week for a message from Bakunin, which would combine acknowledgment of receipt of the gift, the praise of the work, and particularly the adoration of the author, Marx went over to the idea of vindictive retaliation. In carrying out his plan he set to work his wife, his life-long friend, Engels, his son-in-law, Lafarge, and finally the International. A vicious drama was unfolded wearing very little political attire. Otto Ruhle records: "Although Bakunin found it hard to believe that this personal slight, however unpardonable a courtesy" was the reason the ordeal he was to undergo at the hands of Marx, "a letter from Frau Marx to Philip Becker shows that this must actually have been the case." (282)

With the incredible energy of a first-class detective of the Scotland Yard, Marx proceeded to investigate Bakunin's private life to give the intended chastisement form and motion. Disappointed in finding no scandal, Marx explored the possibility of a frame up. To his delight he soon discovered something that, he figured, could serve as a basis for a scheme, as follows:

A Russian publisher had given Bakunin 300 rubles as an advance payment for the translation to be executed of Marx's *Capital*. Extremely pressing circumstances, among them sickness, made it impossible for Bakunin to perform the work, and terrible poverty, actual starvation, prevented him from returning the money. The publisher, Lubavin, kept demanding the refund.

One of Bakunin's ardent admirers, Nechaiev, a hot-tempered intellectual adventurer, infuriated by Lubavin's persistence, wrote him a letter in which, in a threatening tone, he warned to leave Bakunin alone. Marx decided to charge Bakunin with writing the letter and with the embezzlement of the 300 rubles.

Marx's "case" against Bakunin was so unjust, so transparently dishonest that even the Stalinist editors of the Soviet *Encyclopedia* were constrained to exonerate Bakunin: "The accusation of swindling (the affair with the advance for the translation of *Capital*) was unjust. Here Bakunin suffered for the Nechaiev method of liquidating accounts, of which Bakunin was not guilty." (*Bolsheia Sovetskaya Encyclopedia*, IV, 447)

In a matter of a few days, Marx, pulling many levers of his bureaucratic apparatus, obtained the Nechaiev letter from Lubavin, who accompanied it with his own note to Marx expressing conviction that Bakunin had nothing to do with writing the letter, or even with mailing it. But Marx hated to be contradicted, even when he was obviously in the wrong. He disregarded Lubavin's note.

The culmination of his revenge for the rankling wound to his personal vanity inadvertently inflicted by Bakunin was brought

about by Marx at the Hague Congress of the International held about a year and a half after the proclamation of the Commune (September 1872). A meeting, universally regarded by radical workers and intellectuals as a public gathering of the best minds taking up the issue of transforming society, was turned by Marx into a showplace of an exhibition that ran afoul of all decency, was of such offensive nature that was seldom witnessed even in the most corrupt court on earth.

The Hague Congress appointed a Committee to investigate the "Bakunin case." The committee brought in a report in which an admission was made that though no material was at hand proving Bakunin's guilt, the *feeling* of the members was that he was guilty! "Cuno, the president of the Committee, declared that, though the Committee had received no material proof of the guilt of the accused, it had, nevertheless, acquired a moral conviction of his guilt," (G. M. Stekloff, *History of the First International*, 238). To a sane and just tribunal the only conclusion upon hearing the Report would have been: *Not guilty*; but not to the overwhelming majority, corrupted by Marx. Besmirched as an embezzler, whose behavior was pictured as verging on insolence, even threat of violence, Bakunin was expelled.

Otto Ruhle, who in general treats Marx with great reverence, and is a beautiful decorator of Marx's invisibly false, pseudo-Socialist concepts, which served Marx and Engels as bait, nevertheless feels constrained to furnish crumbs of truth in his biography of Marx. Here is one of those crumbs, dealing with Marx's frame up of Bakunin:

"But Marx could not bring himself to retire from the stage without throwing a last handful of mud at Bakunin. The Hague Congress had instructed the Committee that examined the charges against Bakunin to publish the results of the investigation. Since the Committee had failed to carry out this behest, Marx, in conjunction with Engels and Lafargue, undertook to elaborate a report. It was published under the title *Die Allianz der Sozialistischen Demokratie und die Internationale Arbeiter Assoziation* [The Alliance of the Socialist Democracy and the International Working-men's Association], a malicious pamphlet, in which almost every line is distortion, almost every allegation an injustice, almost every argument a fabrication, and almost every word an untruth." (*Karl Marx*, 306)

XV. THE JACOBINS AND THE MARXISTS ON THE WOMAN QUESTION

The female half of the human species has been the subject sex for a million years, and maybe longer. Important as the Woman

Question is, the real depths of the oppression of the woman by the man, the precise social nature of crimes perpetrated by the male against the female, from rape to war, has never been extensively researched. It has never been unanimously acknowledged that the State, since its formation, long before the dawn of recorded antiquity, has been, and is, a masculine entity, an andrarchal instrument for control of society.

Repressed, spirit-broken, for thousands of centuries passing through the array of tribal chiefs of dazzling or obscure kings and emperors, tyrants, generals, patriarchs, potentates and masters of various ranks, the woman, on occasion, the wife or daughter of a deceased sovereign, would be elevated to govern a masculine state. But the real power behind the throne of a queen was always a man, or a group of men, directing her hand and mind.

The Ancient and the Middle Ages despots ruthlessly crushed any protest or criticism against the masculine tradition of male supremacy. Under the brutal tyranny of Henry VIII. "For writing a tract on *The Monstrous Regimen of Women* a nonconformist divine (Dr. W. Stubbs) had his right hand lopped off." (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh edition, XIX, 100)

In the turbulent Eighteenth Century, when the local masters of the English colonies in North America rose against the power of the King, a number of their females stirred to raise their voices for social equality of both sexes. Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, then a member of the Continental Congress, later the second President of the United States: "Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation." (Cited in *Encyclopedia Americana*, XXIX, 450)

However, the men carrying on the movement for the independence from England paid no attention to a small group of women which, though ineffectively but with clear distinction, put forth the demand for sharing control of public affairs with the men. In consequence, the United States was formed without a single voice of representation of women in its government, on complete deprivation of women's citizens' rights.

But the peak of ideas of protest against the abuse and oppression of women, the glamorous heyday of an organized upheaval for sex equality, appearing not in succinct, telegraphic terms but in a free flow of words, armed with the technical equipment of a press, occurred in the era of the French Revolution. Never before, in tens of thousands of years and never since, was there such high motion of the feminist movement, and such bestial repression and punishment for its leaders as on that brief and little known moment in history.

This amazing, indelible event is hardly ever mentioned by the Capitalist or Marxist sources.

The women's active part in the Revolution in full strikingly began on July 14, 1789, one of the great dates in the history of Paris, of France, of Europe, of the world. On that day, in Paris, the workers, the small shopkeepers, the artisans, the intellectuals, and, surprisingly, the women, stormed the Bastille, a royal prison and a grim symbol of the absolute power of King Louis XVI and of the oppressive domination of the landed aristocracy of France.

The fall of the Bastille opened a new era. The advanced women soon witnessed an event which, they felt, was not fully sufficient in the Revolution. On August 27, 1789 the National Assembly, supported by insurrectionary masses, composed entirely of males, adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man. The female sex was entirely ignored. Nevertheless the participation of the female sex in the Revolutionary developments broadened. On October 5, 1789 a large crowd of rebellious women awakened the men to another spectacular act, led them to Versailles, and forced the King to remove to Paris.

The women of France were divided economically, socially and politically. A part stood solidly with the King, the landed aristocracy and the reactionary section of the clergy. A large segment, mostly of the wealthy class, backed the Right Wing of the Capitalists, called the Girondists, after their leaders who came from the Department of Gironde and formed the Legislative Assembly in 1791. The small minority of women, composed of wives and daughters of doctors, lawyers and other intellectual elements, openly fought for equality with men and leaned politically toward the Left Capitalist group known as Jacobins from the meeting place of its leaders, an old Jacobin convent.

The National Assembly ended on September 30, 1791, and a Girondist-controlled Legislative Assembly convened on October 1. Several days later, Olimpe de Gouges, one of the women that had led the march to Versailles, was granted permission to address the gathering. She pointed out that the Declaration of the Rights of Man, a principle adopted two years earlier, did not emancipate the woman, who remained oppressed. A storm broke loose against her. She was insultingly interrupted, shouted down, and finally driven out of the hall.

The climax came in 1793. Control of France passed into the hands of the Jacobins led by Danton, Marat and Robespierre. Distinguished by their passion for personal power, the Jacobin leaders, notably Robespierre, instituted a reign of terror, a virtually insane persecution and murder of thousands of aristocrats, priests, workers, hundreds of writers, poets, Girondists, most of them falsely accused of crimes they never committed. They were sent to the

guillotine, beheaded for no other purpose than to terrorize the population and to frame up one another within the Jacobin circle itself.

A group of revolutionary women, highly creative in their work designed to liberate the female sex, produced a program containing Seventeen Articles on the rights of women and brought the document to the Jacobin Convention for approval. They expected sympathy, or at least interest. Instead, to their dismay and horror, the male-chauvinist Jacobins, as the Girondists before them, greeted the women with filthy abuse, with threats of violence, and without any compliance with formal rules, ejected them from the Convention.

Next day, and for several consecutive days, the Jacobin press poured a niagara of sewage upon the feminists. One of Robespierre's journalists, Fabre, in his paper branded them as "prostitutes."

Soon the Jacobins turned from verbal abuse to physical molestation, and on a mammoth scale at that. Revolutionary women were attacked in the streets. Their clubs were closed by the servile agents of the Jacobin administration. At the doors of the Convention armed guards stopped and turned away the women desiring to sit in the galleries.

Harassed and hounded, the revolutionary women, looking for support, even if of a fragile nature, decided to appeal to the somewhat more discriminating in matters of justice than the ruling Convention, the Commune of Paris (1792-1794). They did not grasp that this device, different from the Paris Commune of 1871 which was entirely independent, was established with the approval of the Jacobin leaders and was serving as a Left tool of Robespierre. Naturally the women's delegation found no support or even verbal sympathy in that quarter. The Stalinist *Bolshaia Sovetskaiia Encyclopedia* records:

"Marat, Robespierre, Herbert—were against equal rights for women. When at the end of 1793 the Convention ordered the closing of all women's meetings, and a women's delegation appeared at a session of the Paris Commune to plead for annulment of this decision, Chaumette, the Procurator of the Commune, sharply rebuked the delegation. . . . 'Nature said to the woman—be a woman! Rearing of children, the cares of the home, sweet labors of motherhood—this is your province of work. . . .'" (XXV, 181)

This took place on November 20, 1793. The delegation was led by Olimpe de Gauges, one of the most glorious members of her sex who dedicated all her adult life to the cause of equality of the sexes. Three days later Robespierre ordered her arrest, and without even the rigged spectacle of a trial, sent her to the guillotine. Her head was severed by the Jacobin hangmen to the loud acclaim of the revolutionary-reactionary spectators—men and their ignorant wo-

men supporters. That's how in the epoch of the French Revolution the mass of Paris and of other centers of France, men and women, were captivated by scoundrels and unscrupulous power bandits.

If in the depth of the French Revolution, submerged in a boiling sea of intrigue and murder, there was a refreshing, crisp, honest tendency among a few men, expressing deep devotion to the interests of the masses, it was represented by Jacques Roux. Appearing before the Jacobin Convention, Roux invigorated its rumor-mongering, blood-smelling atmosphere with these brave words in defense of the workers' interests: "We are now oppressed by the commercial aristocracy, which is even worse than the landed aristocracy, and we don't see an end to their pressure, since the prices on all goods are growing in terrifying proportions. It is time however to put an end to this life-and-death struggle which egotism conducts against the working class." (Cited by Peter Kropotkin in *Velikaia Frantsuskaia Revolutsia*, 500)

The reception given Roux by the Jacobin defenders of speculators and profiteers, who took advantage of the country's emergency and protection by the Jacobin authorities, was vicious: "When Jacques Roux came before the Convention on the 25th of June 1793 . . . and spoke in the name of his section against the speculators in assignats and in food supplies, demanding legislation against them, his speech was met with wild yells by the lawmakers. He was driven out of the Convention, followed with shouts and threats." (Ib.)

Many of these Jacobin bandits of personal power were commercial speculators themselves. After that speech Roux was doomed: "From that time on, Robespierre tirelessly slandered Roux." Brought before the Jacobin "court" Roux, in full realization that he was facing a gang of corrupt men with whom the sense of justice had been absent from the start of their public careers, stabbed himself to death.

* * *

In focusing on the French Revolution, it will be instructive to check with which political force in that upheaval Lenin identified himself—for identify he did. Would the casual observer say without a moment's hesitation that Lenin sided with the French masses? Looking superficially, that would appear to be the case. He always hated the nobility, French or Russian. Presumably he loved the workers and peasants. But the "masses" do not indicate a political trend. Every enemy of the masses "loves" them. A Stalin, a Hitler, a Capitalist political crook who gains support of the people by appealing to their interests and in the name of some popular causes, to conceal his hidden personal designs. Was Lenin in sympathy with the Roux position? True, Roux was not a Socialist, but he struggled to curb the commercial hogs and thus attempted to help

the masses suffering under the pressure of poverty. Research establishes that in Lenin's eyes Roux was not worth an analytical paragraph. Did Lenin marvel at the revolutionary women, a small galaxy which dared to challenge male supremacy and sought to set the female population of France upon the road of struggle to establish equality of sexes in the exercise of power?

Research shows that Lenin sided with the executioners of these women, the most advanced women-thinkers in the history of social struggles! In 1905 he associated the designation "Bolshevik" with that of "Jacobin" unambiguously: "The Jacobins of contemporary Social Democracy—the Bolsheviks." (*Two Tactics*) In *Pravda* of June 10, 1917 Lenin wrote: "You have studied history, Messrs. Miliukovs and Plekhanovs, and you cannot deny that the great Jacobins of 1793 were not afraid to denounce all the representatives of the reactionary exploiting minority of their time as enemies of the people."

Lenin, of course, in promoting admiration for the "great Jacobins of 1793" did not reveal that the phrases "enemies of the people," "traitors to the Republic," " betrayers of Liberty" were demagogic phrases used by Robespierre to frame and murder Danton and other Jacobins, to kill the followers of Roux, to behead the revolutionary women, and through an amalgam be guillotined himself (July 28, 1794).

Lenin knew, of course, that the Jacobins of 1793 were personal fortune-seekers, like, for example, one of their generals, Napoleon Bonaparte. On December 19, 1793, directly employed by the Jacobins headed by Robespierre, the future dictator and emperor of France gathered artillerymen on a hill overlooking the harbor of Toulon and drove the British invading fleet out, achieving the first victory of his meteoric career. Such continuous advance toward personal autocracy by Napoleon, under the Jacobin's rule, which he served before the Reign of Terror, during the Terror, while the knife of the guillotine was dripping with the blood of innocent people, and after the fall of Robespierre, under a watered-down Jacobin group, until 1803, was possible only because the multisided Jacobin stratum was an anti-working class, anti-aristocratic, anti-female cancer of French and Feudal society.

Yes, the Liberal Miliukov, and the Marxist Plekhanov, who had gone over to the Tsar, studied history. But they now avoided polemics with Lenin, and besides were male chauvinists and did not particularly care what the Jacobins of 1793 did to the revolutionary women of that period, or to Roux and his followers, for that matter. But Lenin too studied history. He knew that the Jacobins did not "denounce all the representatives of the reactionary exploiting minority" among whom were the Jacobins themselves. He knew, perhaps better than Miliukov and Plekhanov, the history of the

French Revolution. Anyone who reads comprehensive accounts of the year 1793 in the history of France cannot help stumbling on the bloody crushing of the advanced women by the Jacobins and on the other bestial deeds. But to Lenin these, evidently, were minor incidents. What fitted into his dream of personal dictatorship over Russia was the fact that the Jacobins ruthlessly crushed the nobility and the closest allies of the King, the big Capitalists of France.

XVI. MARX AGAINST FEMALE SUFFERAGE

In his own family Marx constantly put forth the idea of masculine supremacy. After his daughter, Jenny, got married, and about a year later expected a child, Marx and his wife expressed opposite wishes for the sex of the coming infant. Marx wrote to Jenny:

"The 'female half' of our family hoped that the 'newcomer,' with its arrival, would increase the 'better half' of the human race. I on my part prefer the 'male sex' for children at this turning point in history. They have before them the most revolutionary period humanity has ever gone through." (Letter, April 29, 1881)

To exclude half of the human race from any historical period, to state that only the male half participates in revolutions, is to ignore, perilously for the women, as well as for the men, the female role in political movements. It is to fly in the face of actual history. Marx himself ten years earlier in the work to screen his betrayal of the Paris Commune of 1871 had written: "the real women of Paris appeared again on the surface, heroic, noble, and devoted, like the women of antiquity." In real life, however, in his male chauvinist thinking, he shoved aside the role women performed in revolutions, often advancing in the front ranks. "Women are funny," he wrote to Engels, "even the most intelligent ones."

As if to set straight the record of the difference in the position of the man and the woman in her marriage, Marx's wife contributed a clue to the division of functions between her, as practically a house drudge, and her illustrious husband. In a letter to Liebknecht, dated May 26, 1872, she indicated that her mind was steeled to her miserable fate: "In all these fights we women, because of our trivial role, bear a heavier burden. A man becomes tempered in his struggle with the outer world, he grows in strength facing the enemies be their name legion. And we stay home and mend socks." (Cited by Vinogradskaya in *Jenny Marx*, R., Moscow Leningrad, 187)

Back in 1848, in the United States, precisely in the period when Marx, in close kinship with Left Capitalist intellectuals, attempted to shape for himself the role of a German "Robespierre," a movement for social equality of the sexes took the wing. A startling

event shook the intelligent parts of both the female and the male worlds. At Seneca Falls was held a Woman's Rights Convention, the first of its kind in the long and bloody male supremacy of the race. Not long after, the feminist movement was given active support by leading men among the Abolitionists who along with seeking to end chattel slavery now stood for raising the female to the position of equality with the male. The support was glistened with such outstanding names as Wendell Phillips, Garrison, Channing, Whittier, Emerson. In Europe many notables expressed sympathy with the movement for social sex equality, as they did with the agitation to abolish the chattel slavery of the black people. But not Marx and Engels. While privately favoring the continuation and the security of keeping millions of human beings in America chained as property of the white masters, they unspokenly, but unmistakably by virtue of the fact that in the entire range of their writings, running for over half a century, one cannot find a paragraph, not even a sentence which says that without the woman's right to vote the so-called "universal suffrage" was actually male suffrage only—in plain words, a sham.

Indeed, Marx programmatically stood for male suffrage only. Soon after the formation of the International, a group in England led by a Liberal, Richard Cobden, sent a proposal to the General Council to run a joint meeting in a public hall. Marx made a motion outlining the conditions on which the united front proposal would be accepted: "So far as the meeting is concerned, to act with them if, in the first place, manhood suffrage is directly and openly proclaimed in the program. . . ." (Letter to Engels, Feb. 1, 1865) This was Marx's position on suffrage twenty-seven years after the Seneca Falls Convention.

The Paris Commune of 1871 was a purely male regime. Only men voted. Only men were elected. Yet, it owed its existence solely to the courageous opposition by women to Thiers' attempt to seize the guns of the National Guard. Even the Stalinist historians with uncommon candor admit that it was the women who brought on the March 18 rising in Paris: "The women of Montmartre on the 18 of March did not allow the removal of the guns of the National Guard to Versailles." (*Bol. Sov. Encyclopedia*, XXV, 189)

But by the old standards established thousands of generations back, men were given the preferential levers of control. In the eyes of Marx and Engels the withholding from women of the right to participate in elections was as should have been. The discriminatory attitude toward women was ignored by Marx and Engels.

And yet, had the Commune introduced female suffrage that advanced social achievement would have been no innovation or novelty in the political practice in human society. The right for women to cast a ballot occupied a spot in far away Capitalist

America. In the wilderness of Wyoming, contrary to Paris, the most modern city in the world, about two years before the establishment of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," the ordinary farmers and town Capitalists actually instituted female suffrage! "Wyoming women got the vote in the constitution of 1869. Wyoming later refused to enter the Union without woman suffrage." (*The American Past*, Simon and Shuster, Publishers, New York, 217)

The point about Wyoming's refusal to enter the United States without woman suffrage makes fascinating reading: "The issue precipitated a bitter Congressional battle . . . Joseph E. Washington, of Tennessee, called female suffrage a 'reform against nature,' and said it was 'unsexing and degrading the womanhood of America.' Thundered William C. Oates of Alabama: 'I like a woman who appreciates the sphere to which God and the Bible has assigned to her.' At the height of the battle, when it looked as if equal suffrage might have to be abandoned to win statehood, the Wyoming women made a gallant gesture. 'Drop us if you must' they telegraphed their delegates, 'We can trust the men of Wyoming to enfranchise us again after our territory becomes a state.' Back flashed a reply that is to the everlasting glory of Wyoming males: 'We will remain out of the Union for 100 years rather than come in without woman suffrage.'" (*The Denver Post*, Aug. 14, 1960. Cited in *Reader's Digest*, Sept. 1960)

Did the intellectual world, the world of advanced women in the industrial countries of Europe, take note of the struggle over female suffrage and of the great victory of the Wyoming delegation? Definitely! "The Wyoming women won their 'Magna Carta,' a document which attracted world-wide attention. . . . The women of Great Britain cabled congratulations 'to the women of Wyoming on this triumph you have won for all women of the world.'" (Ib.)

If the women of the Commune, as a portion of the women of the world, won a triumph for their sex, it was not under the "dictatorship of the proletariat" but, quite effortlessly, under the agricultural and small town traders of the woodland of Wyoming. Whether there were isolated members of the female sex in Paris who sought to revive the glorious memory of the great women of the Jacobin era and asked the leaders of the Commune to institute female suffrage and publicly condemn Robespierre and his terrorists for putting Olimpe de Gauger and her women-companions under the knife of the guillotine, there is no available record at this moment.

XVII. THE MARXIST SWINDLERS AFTER MARX AND THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE

During Marx's life no organization under his influence included in its program the demand for female suffrage. When the German Marxists, known as the Eisenachers, led by Liebknecht and Bebel, and the Lassalleian General Association of German Workers headed by Tolcke and Hasselmann, met in the Unification Congress at Gotha (May 22-27, 1875) they adopted a set of theses called *The Gotha Program*. Marx wrote a criticism of this document because it contained several Lassalleian propositions. But he accepted without finding any fault the first article of the *Program* which reads: "1. Universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage for all males of twenty-one years of age and above, for all elections—national and local."

Marx died in 1883. His evaluation of the *Gotha Program* was considered by the Marxist scholars as a work based on refreshingly hard, scientific reasoning, a true pearl of Marxist theoretical achievement. Lenin in his book *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* declared that in the *Criticism of the Gotha Program* Marx "summarized his complete revolutionary doctrine." However, Lenin never mentioned the curious fact that after writing it, Marx suppressed the *Criticism*. "The Critique was first published in 1891." (Marx, *Sel. Works*, II, 557, note by the editor) For fifteen years of its suppression the German Social Democracy operated by the guidance of Marxist-Lassalleian hash which included the disenfranchisement of the female sex.

Why for fifteen years this quintessence of Marxian "science" in its purest and most concentrated form was hidden from view? No doubt Lenin knew the answer to this question. Having decided between themselves to keep the *Criticism* from publication, Marx and Engels shortly after the unification Congress, gave to their followers an altogether different view of the Marxist-Lassalleian mixture called *The Gotha Program*. In a letter to Bracke dated October 11, 1875, taking up the issue of Marx's silence regarding the *Program*, Engels wrote: "Fortunately the Program has fared better than it deserves. Both workers and bourgeois and petty bourgeois read into it what ought properly be in it but is not in it, and it has not occurred to anyone to investigate publicly a single one of these wonderful propositions as to its real content. This has made it possible for us to keep silent on this Program."

When it came to writing purest gibberish Engels was a master. It is enough to recall his twisty, incongruous argument why Prussia and Austria should not give up their parts of Poland.

The real reasons for suppression of the *Criticism of the Gotha Program* was that since the Program was produced by Liebknecht

who had succumbed to the rampaging Lassalleian ideas, the publication of Marx's critical essay would have produced a catastrophic effect on the unity-intoxication of his followers, a major disaster in Marx's relations with Liebknecht, and a general break-up of German Social Democracy. This is the heart of the puzzle why Marx withheld the essay from publication.

But fifteen years later the situation had changed completely—even with respect to the female suffrage. The unity fever had long been over. A new Marxist theoretical "giant," Karl Kautsky, became the leading mind of German Social Democracy. Simultaneously, a new feature appeared in Germany and in the Party. The capitalists flung the gates of their expanding industry wide open to women workers, as in England, and while in England the working girls were flocking to the unions, in Germany they were knocking on the doors of Social Democracy. As Engels sat in his office reading the publications of the Party, perusing the morning mail, going through the Capitalist press, and sometimes discussing Party matters with friends, who held Marx and him in great respect, he grasped that if the document, suppressed by him and Marx, were published now, it would enhance Marx's and his own prestige. It was published by Kautsky in 1891.

In the same year, 1891, the German Social Democratic Party held a Congress at Erfurt and adopted a program written by Kautsky which included the demand for suffrage without distinction of sex.

But the entry of the women into the Party was not encouraged; in fact it was secretly opposed by the leaders, most of them male chauvinists. One of the most distinguished women of German Social Democracy, later a leading "Communist," was almost compelled to break the door down to join. "When Klara Zetkin decided to enter the ranks of the Party, at that time called Social Democratic, one of the comrades remarked: 'Why should a young girl enter the Party? Woman's business is family life.'" (O. Rumova, *The Grandmother of Communism*, R., 8)

The putting into life of the demand for franchise without distinction of sex was an arduous process in the Socialist International. The critics were gaining converts opposing female suffrage by tens of thousands. From 1891 to 1907 only about half of the national sections even discussed the question. While the majority stood firm on the old grounds, only very few inserted the new position into their programs.

In 1907 at the Stuttgart Congress of the International a furious battle unfolded on the issue of the female suffrage. The house was almost equally divided. At the center of the struggle for maintaining the traditional Marxist position of male exercise in the right to vote was the Austrian delegation. Carrying forward the assault

on the outspoken male chauvinists were the deputies from Kautsky's camp. When the hotly contested issue was put to a vote, the position for female suffrage was carried by only *three* votes. Evincing a fanatical attachment to male supremacy, almost half of the Stuttgart Congress defiantly voted against granting the women the right to use the ballot on an equal footing with men.

The first Russian Marxist group was formed in 1883. For the next twenty years the Russian Marxists, without anyone opposing, stood up to what they regarded as a correct ideal, the male suffrage. But in 1903 the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, still united in one Party, officially adopted, quite at high speed, the bi-sexual position on suffrage.

Was that action a fancy spice to be found in thousands of official documents cooked up by demagogues of various camps, or a sincere recognition of the reactionary nature of the old Marxist position? The test soon presented itself.

During the elections to the Tsarist new parliament, called the Duma, in 1906, a pro-Capitalist Union of Equal Rights for Women, founded by a group of Liberal women in April 1905, and certain other non-Marxist women's organizations, carried on a vigorous campaign requesting the Tsar's Government to do justice to the women of Russia and allow them to participate in the elections. Here was the situation to show that the adoption of the bi-sexual stand on voting was not merely in the field of promises of action by the leaders of the Marxist movement but in the category of political performance. Did Lenin, Plekhanov, Martov, Trotsky, Stalin, Lunacharsky, and other Marxists, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, produce a single piece of literature on the subject of women's right to vote? Not one!

The Duma met on May 10, 1906, and functioned for two months. The members of the Marxist Fraction in the Duma, led by the Mensheviks, delivered a number of speeches dealing with issues confronting the working class and the peasant community. But for the female majority of the oppressed population of the Tsarist Empire, in an obvious out of keeping with the written position in the Program, they had nothing to say. However, a number of Liberal Capitalist deputies took an interest in the matter. "On the 6 of June Professor Petrazhinsky delivered a speech in the Duma in favor of women's rights equal with men." (*Novy Encyclopedichesky Slovar*, XVII, 783) The Bolsheviks and Mensheviks kept aloof. Lenin, at that time for boycott of the Duma, was completely unconcerned.

The Tsarist regime allowed the Second Duma to be in session for a little longer than three months (March 5-June 16, 1907). It was even more oppositional against the Tsarist oppression, more vociferous in defense of the male masses than the First Duma. Marxist

deputies were there, and so was the Woman Question. But while a number of Capitalist deputies demonstrated intense preoccupation, and for a considerable length of time, with the demand for female rights, the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks turned their back on this issue absolutely.

The Third Duma opened on November 14, 1907. Of the 442 deputies 18 were Marxists. The Woman Question came up again.

"The Russian League of Equal Rights for Women appealed to the representatives of fractions with a proposal to submit a bill of suffrage for women." (*Zaprosy Zhizny*, 1912, No. 8, 477) Forty deputies signed the draft for the enactment of this legislation. Of these only one (1) was a Marxist. It was a clear case of sabotage of the issue of female suffrage by both the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks.

In 1910, at the Congress of the Marxist Second International, in Basle, it was decided to set aside March 8 as the "International Day of the Working Women." But after the adoption of this decision the male Marxist swindlers turned the March 8 date into a subtle pretension of fighting for the female rights. Several years passed. Every March 8 was attended with speechmaking and printing of articles dealing with the exploitative and oppressive condition of the working woman. And each time, a day after March 8, the Woman Question was shoved away from public eye until the next year's March 8.

In August 1914, with the opening of the World War, the Socialist International collapsed, each section urging its members and the general masses to support the War. In the first March 8 during the War, in 1915, the day was used by the Marxists to attach the women workers to the war machines of their respective governments.

The Marxists split not only internationally but inside every nation. In Germany the Majority Socialists were rabidly for the Kaiser, the Minority Socialists pretended they were for immediate peace, and on the extreme Left a very small group stood openly against the Government.

On the Russian side, Lenin, and virtually he alone, declared for turning the imperialist war into a civil war against Capitalism; to support this position he lied that Marx and Engels in the Franco-Prussian War stood against the Prussian King. The Woman Question in Russia was utilized to attach the women workers to the Tsar, but on that issue Lenin remained completely silent.

March 8, 1917 was approaching. It is necessary to point out that had it not been for the 1910 decision at the Congress of the Socialist International to set aside March 8 as the International Women's Day, the day of the overthrow of the Romanov dynasty, there would have been no revolution on that day, and perhaps no revo-

lution in the visible future. Trotsky, using the Old Style calendar, which was 13 days behind the Gregorian, recorded: "The 23 of February was International Woman's Day. The social democratic circles had intended to mark the day in a general manner; by meetings, speeches, leaflets. It had not occurred to anyone that it might become the first day of the revolution. Not a single organization called for strikes on that day. What is more, even a Bolshevik organization, and a most militant one—the Vyborg borough committee, all workers—was opposing strikes. . . . On the following morning, however, in spite of all directives, the women textile workers in several factories went on strike, and sent delegates to the metal workers with an appeal for support." (*The History of the Russian Revolution I*, 101)

This is a generally unknown, forgotten fact. The streets of Petrograd fell under the control of the women workers. They initiated the Revolution. In that, the working women of Petrograd, without knowing in detail, acted on the International Woman's Day, ordinarily used by the Marxist demagogues to pretend concern for the most exploited sector of the population, in the tradition of the French Revolution destroying the Bastille, in the march to Versailles to bring the King back to Paris, and of initiating the Commune of 1871 by refusing to give up the guns of the National Guard to Thiers. Trotsky acknowledges: "Thus the fact is that the February revolution was begun from below, overcoming the resistance of its own revolutionary organizations, the initiative being taken of their own accord by the most oppressed and downtrodden part of the proletariat—the women textile workers, among them no doubt many soldiers' wives." (102)

Several days after the women workers of Petrograd in an astounding street demonstration, with the troops sent against them joining them, in a few hours reduced the brutal, centuries-old monarchy to ashes, the Bolshevik paper *Pravda* wrote: "The women were the first to come out into the streets of Petrograd on their Woman's Day. The women of Moscow in many cases decided the fate of the troops. They entered the barracks, spoke, convinced, and the soldiers went over to the side of the Revolution. Glory to the women!"

The Soviets were formed four days after the overthrow of the Tsar. Election of delegates took place in the factories and in the barracks to the Petrograd Council, or Soviet, of Workers and Soldiers Deputies. Soon Moscow and other centers followed. Only men voted; only men were elected. It was almost a carbon copy of election to the Paris Commune of 1871, a revolution also initiated by women, hypocritically glorified by Marx in the *Civil War in France*.

Lenin was in Switzerland. A responsible, upright person of unimpeachable integrity, not Lenin, undertaking the task of serving

as a guide to all the oppressed and exploited against all the political charlatans of the epoch, would have immediately warned the women workers that they were being cheated out of their magnificent victory and deliberately elbowed from the front of the Revolution to its rear. He would have raised the demand for the right of women workers not only to vote and be elected but to have representation in the Soviets in equal numbers with men. These demands would have been realized at once, for in the very beginning of the post-Tsar period the prestige of the women workers was towering over the men, workers and soldiers. His urgent message would have been distributed all over Russia, would have reached the rest of the world. Indirectly calling the attention of men, he would have spoken to the women workers in clear and concise words: Working women of Petrograd! In one single day, on March 8, 1917, you have achieved a wonder of wonders. You have proved your position of being in the vanguard of the movement for freedom. In the encounter of forces you proved stronger than the criminal Tsarist camarilla. The toiling men of Russia, the students and other intellectuals, throbbing with admiration, saluted you, followed you, and buried Tsarism forever. But in the elections to the Soviet you were removed from the front line of the Revolution into obscurity by male rhetoric, and the habit of tradition. Don't accept your exclusion from the ranks of delegates to the Soviet. You must act at once, before it becomes too late and your vanguard role is forgotten. Return to the front line of the Revolution. Call meetings of women workers. Elect women representatives to the Workers and Soldiers Soviet. And most important is not electing women in addition to the men, and leaving it as a male institution. Elect your deputies on the basis of numerical equality with men. Fight for the adoption of the standard of equality of the sexes. Your general absence from the body of the elected delegates to the Soviet has been now accepted the world over as natural and proper. Break this dead-end male psychology. Don't allow male domination of society continue. Banish forever the supremacy of one sex, the male sex, with its wars, its brutal crimes, its clouds of deception. Long live the bi-sexual Soviet Government, the first of its kind in the history of the species!

Lenin was no such political guide. He was a shrewd, unscrupulous beaurocrat, with very sharp understanding of the pernicious nature of Capitalism, a tireless fighter against other Marxist bureaucrats, earning his sunshine spot by denouncing them as "opportunists," thereby concealing his own pursuit of personal advantages with no regard for principles. On that basis he built his reputation as a Left Marxist. Deep in his mind he patiently awaited his "finest" hour, to become a Russian "Robespierre," thinking of duplicating Marx's vision of himself in 1848. But there was an important difference.

Marx schemed for that role on the basis of retaining Capitalism in Germany just as the original Robespierre in France, whereas Lenin saw his chance only through using the workers for the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of a State form of economy operated by a Marxist bureaucracy.

Lenin, of course, perceived that the distinction of securing a crushing victory over Tsarism belonged to the working women. He did not have to learn this from the article in *Prawda*. Further, he understood very well that the moral as well as the political and social right to be elected to the Soviet on equal terms was theirs, even if the overthrow of the Tsar had been accomplished by men. But he turned his back on the Woman Question totally and absolutely. If he raised the issue of election of women workers to the Soviet, and, to be true to the line, of equal numbers of female deputies with the males in the institution he secretly designated as a vehicle for his personal, male dictatorship, he would have placed an insurmountable obstacle to the fulfillment of his personal aspirations. Lenin did not even call, to ward off criticism, for general female franchise in Russia. Meantime, in the United States, equal suffrage advanced a step when on January 23, 1917 it was introduced in North Dakota.

But whereas Lenin pretended forgetfulness regarding the plank in the Party program putting forth the demand for equal suffrage in general elections to the forthcoming Constituent Assembly and would not panic the working women into the demand for the right to send elected members of their sex to the Soviet, the Capitalist feminists launched a campaign for securing female franchise. The movement rapidly built up to an enormous demonstration of almost a quarter of a million participants, and inundated the streets leading to the Duma, the seat of the Capitalist Provisional Government headed at that time by the old Tsarist politicians. The feminist marchers presented a request to the Government for an official decree granting the women the right to vote. The Capitalist authorities, without evincing an opposition, or even hesitation, granted that right on the spot. The feminist demonstration was intoxicated with the long-fought-for triumph. At last the women in Russia had achieved "equality." Later, ironically, women were elected to the Soviet, but in such insignificant numbers as to merely produce a sham equality in the basically male institution of the masculine Bolshevik State. Before Lenin founded that State, the women of Russia officially entered the field of politics, not as *women* fighting for true equality, but as supporters of the various parties, Bolshevik, Menshevik, Socialist-Revolutionary, and others, whose structure, management and policy were confined to males.

XVIII. MARXIST-LENINIST MALE BUREAUCRATS SEIZE POWER IN RUSSIA

What is secret in the deep recesses of a demagogue's mind eventually comes out into the open after he makes successful use of his ensnaring catchwords, sham promises and pious frauds. President Wilson's "He kept us out of war" slogan, which won him the election in 1916, was dry dust in the mentality of the American people, because his policy after the German submarine sank the Lusitania (May 7, 1915) was systematically directed toward entering the war against Germany. Prime Minister Chamberlain coined the motto "Peace in our time" to cover up the secret arrangement he made with Hitler at Munich (Sept. 29-30, 1938). The agreement called for the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, with its giant armament Skoda works, as a preliminary step toward war on Poland, turning over nearly half of that little Capitalist country to Stalin, as bait, in order to chloroform the Marxist dictator into believing that Hitler was his friend. The "Peace in our time" fraud included the deal with the French general staff to incorporate France into the Hitler-Chamberlain plan and suddenly strike at Stalin's Russia with a great wave of thousands of tanks, planes and artillery pieces. The British and French declarations of war eleven months after Munich against Nazi Germany sounded authentic, but the total inaction by the three powers on the so-called Western Front, while Poland was burning in Nazi flames, proved those declarations to have been frauds, concealing the betrayal of that small Capitalist State in the big scheme to overpower and crush the Stalin-ruled former Tsarist Empire.

Fully familiar with the political putrescence of Marx and Engels, covering them up, whitewashing their crimes, in order to construct on the basis of their false reputation an edifice of his own prestige derived from the esteem of revolutionary workers and intellectuals, hating the Capitalists and the nobility before he ousted them from power, later tempering his aversion for these classes by shaking the bloody hands of foreign Fascists and recruiting into his bureaucracy Tsarist generals, butchers of workers, peasants and Jews, Lenin stood guard over the interests of his million-headed State officialdom. For workers, peasants, women, after the establishment of the Bolshevik regime, he had a boundless contempt and was utterly destitute of even a shred of sympathy. In this respect his heart was not different from Marx's. When reports came to him that the workers were starving, he responded at the Ninth Congress of the Party; "And we declare that the masses will starve until the Red Army triumphs." But the Bolshevik leaders did not starve. In fact they enjoyed luxuries as did during the war the Tsarists and the Capitalists. Trotsky slipped a few facts: "To the

Kremlin from the president of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, Budu Mdivani, came the wine of Kakhetia. From Abkhazia, Nestor Lakoba sent boxes of mandarins." (*New International*, March 1939, 71)

No one in Petrograd, prior to Lenin's acquisition of personal power, perhaps nobody in the whole world shouted louder for establishing democratic rights for the masses than that cunning political swindler. Yet the top leaders of the Bolshevik Party knew well that Lenin, like Marx, was utterly anti-democratic. Lenin's only collaborator in Switzerland, Zinoviev, testified in 1924 at the Executive Committee of the "Communist" International: "Lenin was expressly anti-democrat." (*International Press Correspondence*, March 14, 1924, 172)

Lenin fooled nearly everybody. He made the Capitalists of the advanced countries believe that he was out to promote a world Socialist revolution whereas he professionally installed a Great Russian bureaucratic system. They were terrified by the formation of "Communist" parties in their countries, but later realized that the danger to their system was not internal but external. The amplifier of Moscow's power was and is the Russian military growth rooted in the industrial expansion. He fooled the membership of the Bolshevik Party, to a large extent its lower and middle strata of leaders, but not Trotsky and other top directors of the line to place the "dictatorship of the proletariat," that is themselves, in the official seat of power. The chief victim of the immense swindle was "the proletariat," that is, the working class. Pouring out, tumultuously, a cascade of great words against the War, against Capitalism, posing as a man of the highest standards, Lenin moved the vortex of events toward his personal dictatorship by unreservedly appealing to the working class, using the classical Marxist term "the proletariat." In the drive to win his way into the workers' hearts he outdid not only Marx and Engels but all the other labor fakers, including the pro-Capitalist leaders of the trade unions. His famous April 1917 program he entitled *The Task of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution*. The subhead to his *State and Revolution* reads, "The Marxist Doctrine of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution." He did not ring down the "proletarian" curtain in 1917 even for a minute by replacing the word of deception with the phrase "Party leadership" to denote his intention of placing himself and his colleagues in the seat of power. Particularly fascinating to the revolutionary workers was his article *Political Parties in Russia and the Tasks of the Proletariat* and intoxicating the Marxist slogan "Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

XIX. LENIN, A GREAT-RUSSIAN CHAUVINIST, FOUNDS A MALE-DOMINATED, GREAT-RUSSIAN MARXIST STATE

In his 1917 agitation Lenin posed as a true internationalist, a person who has no special attachment to any specific nation, to the working class of Russia in his case, but is devoted to the interests of the toilers of all countries, carrying out in practice the concept of the *Communist Manifesto*, "Workers of all countries unite" in common participation of constructing a Socialist society. That pose won him admiration and profound respect in the minds of the revolutionary workers of Germany, France, and other countries.

But the scratching off of the grandiose pose expressed in big, dignified phrases, reveals not an idealist-internationalist but a clear enough Great Russian chauvinist. Shortly before the fall of the Tsar, letting down his usual strategic guard, he wrote: "Are we enlightened Great Russian proletarians impervious to the feeling of national pride? Certainly not! We love our language and our motherland." (Lenin, *Col. Wks.*, XVIII, 100) Lenin was as much a Great-Russian chauvinist as Marx and Engels were pan-German ultra-patriots—with a distinct difference. Whereas Marx and Engels, embarking on their major venture of creating a German "Jacobin" State, would not give up even an inch of Polish territory grabbed by Prussia and Austria, Lenin, in exchange for retaining power in Russia was willing to yield to the Kaiser the Russian part of Poland, the Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, and other small countries.

Zinoviev, in 1924, as the Stalinist Chairman of the "Communist" International, publicly testified that Lenin was virtually obsessed by Russian nationalism: "While residing in Krakow about six miles from the Russian border, Lenin frequently took a trip across the frontier to get a gulp of Russian air." (*Communist International*, Jubilee Number "Five Years of the International," 13)

Lenin's wife, Krupskaia, left a validating testimony to Lenin's ultra-patriotic, Great-Russian obsession: "And he is a terrible nationalist. You can't get him to look at the paintings of Polish artists. But he picked up a catalog of Tretiakov Gallery and has buried himself in it many times." (*Letters to Relatives*, R., 396)

Toward the end of Lenin's personal dictatorship, there was growing evidence that Lenin had founded not an international State guided by the principle of equality of the component nationalities but, intentionally, consciously, a Great-Russian power. Not long before Lenin died, Stalin, at the Twelfth Congress of the Party, in April 1923, in his report, was quick to point out that everything in the Soviet State was being swamped by Russian nationalism, Russian superiority, and, by implication, that the country faced the danger of escalation of the tendency of penetration and extension of the domination of Moscow.

XX. LENIN BETRAYS THE GERMAN MARXIST REBELS

Several months after he inadvertently blurted out that he was infatuated with the Russian language and impulsively expressed love for the Russian motherland, making other languages and motherlands appear inferior, Lenin, preparing to leave Switzerland upon the news of the overthrow of the Tsar, wrote *A Farewell Letter to the Swiss Workers*. In it he stated: "It is not the special qualities but rather the special coincidence of historic circumstances that has made the proletariat of Russia for a certain, perhaps a very short time, the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world." This he said in pretense of being a straightforward internationalist.

The meaning was crystal-clear. He implied that other upheavals lay not too far beyond the bounds of the immediate future, in which the Russian revolution, instead of being the center, would rotate around a revolution of a more important, more advanced sector of the world.

In April 1919, pursuing the policy of Great Russian bureaucratization of the State, Lenin again playing an internationalist, declared: "For a time—it goes without saying that it is only for a short time the hegemony in the revolutionary, proletarian International has passed to the Russians." (*Sel. Wks.*, X, 34) Also in 1919, he continued playing this notion: "For Soviet Republics, in higher cultural stages, whose proletariat has far higher working possibilities, there exists every possibility for shoving Russia aside when they once establish a workingclass government." His *Left Communism an Infantile Disorder* contains similar passages in that "after the proletarian revolution in at least one of the advanced countries things will in all probability take a sharp turn: Russia will cease to be the model, and will become again the backward—in the Soviet and Socialist sense—country."

This danger to his motherland hung heavily on Lenin's mind. It must be remembered that this vision of "Communist" Russia receding into the background in due course of revolution in an advanced Capitalist country, say like a highly industrialized Germany, was in the mind of a personal-power-motivated Great Russian Marxist swindler who kept a sharp watch on the highly advanced countries of Europe, especially upon Germany. His safeguard task was to prevent this logical thesis from realization.

The case of Marx from March 1871 to May 28 was, he was betraying the Commune by withholding from its leaders the advice as to policy, by sabotaging every prospect of moral support. Lenin, working through his agents, or dupes, outside the borders of Russia, injected a policy of disruption of a Marxist seizure of power. Lenin had a fantastic capability both of promoting and of

disrupting revolutions. In both he was superior to Marx. In 1848, Marx mistakenly banked on Capitalism and the Democrats, and lost. Nobody can figure out precisely what would have happened had he gambled on the workers and the abolition of Capitalism. Lenin unmistakably relied on the "proletariat" and the overthrow of Capitalist ownership of the economy, and won. Further, the difference between Marx and Lenin in disrupting revolutions is also interesting enough. While Marx in his betrayal of the Commune, documentarily established in these pages, turned over to the executioner mostly his opponents and political enemies, Lenin delivered for destruction, as will be presently proved, devoted Marxist-Leninists dazed by his anti-imperialist, counter-Capitalist rhetoric and action against the Russian Capitalists. His immediate scene of application of the policy of disruption was Germany, the most industrialized country in Europe.

In the autumn of 1917, under the influence of the Bolshevik agitation and on the initiative of the Russian soldiers, the war on the Russian-German Front came to a halt. Appalled by the ravages of the conflict, the Russian soldiers came out of the trenches, without arms; the German troops followed their example. The men on both sides met, shook hands, embraced, *fraternized*. The Kerensky Government was powerless to stop the avalanche of fraternization, and so was the German High Command. The Soviet record says: "The German command took a whole series of most atrocious measures against fraternization to the extent of the death penalty, but could not stop it." (*Bolshaia Sovetskaiia Enc.* VII, 380)

On November 7, 1917, Lenin secured power. At once the mood in the German working class and largely among the German soldiers veered sharply for ending the fighting on the Western Front. The bloody offensives, the counter attacks came to a standstill, as a preliminary to fraternization.

Back in the early period of the War, Lenin, decorating his basic outlook with revolutionary-sounding phrases, wrote: "The question as to what the party of the proletariat would do if the revolution placed power in its hands in the present war, we answer . . . we would have to prepare and conduct a revolutionary war." (*Col. Wks.*, XVIII, 358)

Clearly, fraternization on the Russian-German Front would have served as the basis for opening a revolutionary war against the Kaiser. A declaration of such a war would have constituted the evolution of his slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a war against imperialism. It could not be carried out by Bolshevik troops entering Germany, for the supporters of the Kaiser would have interpreted that as a foreign invasion, but would have been effected by the German divisions in fraternal relations with the

Russian soldiers. The march by a German revolutionary army on Berlin would have been greeted and passionately supported by the entire German working class and the soldiers of the German Army. The French and British troops would never stoop to a surprise attack. Rather they would have renewed the fraternization with German troops attempted in 1915, but crushed by the commands on both sides of the no-man's land. Signs that Germany was approaching a general rising against the imperial set were numerous. A few weeks after the Bolshevik seizure of power in Petrograd, on January 7, 1918, the German submarine crews broke out into open mutiny, denouncing the war. Presently peace demonstrations, open, defiant, threatening, swept across Germany. At the end of January 1918, strikes demanding the conclusion of peace broke out not only in regular civilian manufacturing but in war industry in Kiel, Essen, Hamburg, even in the capital, Berlin. The Right Marxists, or Majority Socialists, following the policy laid down by Engels, of defense of the German fatherland in the event of simultaneous war against France and Russia, acting as the mainstay of the imperial war party, were rapidly losing their grip on the masses.

Lenin clearly perceived the threat to his innermost goal. The millions of victorious German revolutionary workers and soldiers would elect a new command, occupy Berlin, take over control of Germany, and as a new Marxist bureaucratic power, the only kind possible in the situation, would push Bolshevik Russia, a semi-backward, industrially speaking, nation, composed mostly of peasants, into the background.

Logic in his situation demanded that he reverse himself on the slogan of revolutionary war. But in that reversal he faced a difficult moment in his own Bolshevik camp. This is confirmed in a mass of documentary testimony. Trotsky records that "throughout the entire critical period the preponderant majority of the Party organizations and Soviets stood for revolutionary war." (Stalin, 250)

Lenin was adamant in preventing it. A few weeks of very skillful maneuvering and wirepulling he overpowered the majority. Shortly before he capitulated at Brest-Litovsk to German military leaders, Radek, one of the lesser Bolshevik leaders, who stood for revolutionary war, was allowed to print an article in the Government paper, saying what proved to be prophetic: "Should our Russian workers' revolution accept the peace demands which deliver the Polish, Lithuanian and Kurland masses to the mercy of German imperialism, that would be not only treason toward our class comrades but would bolster the tottering power of German imperialism in its own country, would draw the masses of the Allied countries closer to their governments, and would give a new impetus to the World War." (Izvestia, Feb. 5, 1918)

Lenin knew that the consequences of capitulation to the Kaiser

would be dire not only for the Polish and other non-Russian masses but also to the Russian workers and peasants. He cared very little about any of them. With their destiny in his hands, certain that a revolutionary war in Germany would succeed, and his submerged reason, impossible to detect by the average Marxist, would suffer a fiasco, he disregarded the opinion of the majority of the Party. Having appointed a Bolshevik commander of the Army, Krylenko, he instructed this subordinate figure to order immediate discontinuation of fraternization. In the barrage of documentary material one reads how Lenin evaluated fraternization before he assumed control of Russia. He had written demagogically: "Long live fraternization! Long live the rising world Socialist revolution of the proletariat!" (*Pravda*, May 11, 1917) Now he set his fraternization demagogery aside. Krylenko, turning at once into a political man in waiting for Lenin, declared: "I order that firing and fraternization be halted at once along the entire front." (*Izvestia*, Nov. 28, 1917) Krylenko lied about "firing" because there was no gunfire on the Russian-German Front, but he put in the word to give the impression that the fraternization was not universal.

Of the world Capitalist class, the German imperialists were the first to learn that Lenin's "struggle for Socialism" was a counterfeit. The Kaiser's General von Hoffman in his book *The War of Lost Opportunities* says that when he received Lenin's proposal for an armistice, the offer was immediately forwarded to General Ludendorff. Ludendorff inquired over the telephone: "Is it possible to negotiate with these people?" The reply was, "Yes, it is possible to negotiate with them." (195) Thus, the German imperialists knew that Lenin's declarations before he took power, "To us separate peace means entering into an agreement with the German robbers." (Speech on the War at the First All-Russia Congress of Soviets, June 22, 1917) "Let the German capitalist bandits together with their crowned murderer Wilhelm know that we will not enter into negotiations with them." (Lenin, *Is There a Road to Peace*, *Pravda*, June 20, 1917), and numerous similar assurances, were just plain "revolutionary" frauds.

Taking advantage of Lenin's betrayal of the Polish, Ukrainian, Estonian, Finnish, Lithuanian, and even Russian masses by agreeing to deliver to the German generals a tremendous amount of gold, fuel, food and raw materials of all kinds, leaving the Russian masses half naked, freezing, virtually barefoot, and starving, the long famine after some years culminating in cannibalism, the Engels-followers Majority Socialists in Germany saw the opportunity to renew its endorsement of the war policy. To what extent they convinced the German workers to bear privation a little longer, by conjuring up a vision of a rapid German victory in France, is not definitely known. The Kaiser's command opened a series of terrifying drives toward

Paris. Amidst rivers of blood and mountains of murdered soldiers the drives were stopped. A new military factor appeared on the Western Front. American troops, having arrived in France, took over a part of the Front. Soon the Allies launched a powerful counter-offensive, which grew in strength, with no prospects of being thrown back, or even halted by the German Army.

As a result, the tolerant mood of the German workers, the submissiveness to discipline by the soldiers and sailors, the war temper of the Majority Socialists, the fanaticism and grandeur of the military caste crumbled little by little.

On November 3, 1918, an anti-war rising rocked the naval bases. Three days later the entire German fleet passed into the hands of revolutionary sailors, and four days following this smashing anti-war upheaval all of Germany was in the flames of pro-peace revolution. On November 10 the Kaiser fled to Holland.

Viewing the development the Majority Socialists took a sharp turn toward peace. They established themselves as the Government of Germany, arranged an armistice with the Allies (November 11, 1918) and appealed to President Wilson to send foodstuffs for the starving population. Under these circumstances they retained the support of the workers and soldiers.

Lenin, having repressed decisively the clamor for revolutionary war, thus preventing a German "Bolshevik" revolution, had no worries about the role of the Majority, and for that matter of the pro-peace Minority Socialists. Comparable to Russian Mensheviks of the Right and the Left, the German Socialists set out to carry the country to a normalization of Capitalist relations.

The nub of Lenin's problem in Germany was the Spartacists, on the extreme Left of the German political spectrum. Led by Karl Liebknecht, one out of a hundred and ten Socialists in the Reichstag opposing the financing of the war, now released from prison, and a woman, Rosa Luxemburg, one of the Left revolutionary theoreticians, the Spartacists were a small group, less numerous, and far less influential than the Bolshevik Party early in 1917. Their name was romantic, after Spartacus, a gladiator in Ancient Rome who led the slaves in a war against the slaveholder nobility, but quite inappropriate in modern Capitalist conditions. There was a wide disparity of goal between this group and the population of Germany. In November 1918 the agenda of the revolution in Germany was *peace and food*, and these objectives were supplied by both the Majority and the Minority Socialists. The Spartacan line was for immediate wrecking of Capitalism and the establishment of a Soviet State a la Russia.

Had this tendency been headed by a highly sophisticated Marxist strategist, like Lenin, he would have cast impatience aside, would not have accepted the Russian guidance, not even consulta-

tion, but would have followed an independent course. And yet, he would have closely studied all Lenin's moves from the day of his arrival from Switzerland in April 1917, when he stood utterly alone on the prospect of "All power to the Soviets," to the memorable day in November of the seizure of power by the Bolshevik leaders supported by the majority of the workers and soldiers. Such a German leader of the Spartacists would have noted that Lenin was of stout determination to navigate his Party between the dangerous (to him) Rightist rock of Scylla of unity with the Mensheviks and the ultra-Left perilous whirlpool of Charybdis of premature insurrection. Thus, when the Capitalist Provisional Government in May 1917 sent the note to the Allies informing them that Russia would remain in the war, arousing a storm of protest across the country, evoking a tremendous demonstration in Petrograd, the local Bolshevik Committee displayed in the marching crowd a Leftist slogan "Down with the Provisional Government." Lenin reacted with unbridled rage. He castigated the offenders unmercifully: "We say that the slogan 'Down with the Provisional Government' is an adventurist slogan; that the Government cannot yet be overthrown . . . the Petrograd Committee, however, turned a trifle to the Left. In a case of this sort, such a step was a grave crime." (Col. Wks., XX, bk I, 285-6)

From that day in May Lenin kept in leash the impatient, imaginative "revolutionary" tempers in his Party. He made the membership realize that as long as the broad masses leaned toward the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks who supported the Provisional Government, the Bolsheviks must adhere to the formula "Teach and Explain."

There was no such master-tactician as Lenin in the Spartacan group. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg quite evidently did not examine Lenin's tactical line which served him in securing power. On the 22 of November, only eleven days after the Majority Socialist Government concluded an armistice with the Allies, the Spartacists in Berlin rose in insurrection, seized the central police station and a few other buildings, and, of course, were beaten back by loyal troops with frightful losses. It was a wild-ass, ultra-Leftist tactic, against all logic and reason.

Most people acquire the concepts of a theory in pragmatic action, but not the Spartacists. The tactic of irresponsible putschism, the breakneck attempts to seize buildings was just starting. On December 23, Spartacan sailors, brought by Liebknecht to Berlin, attacked and occupied the royal stables, laid hold of the Kaiser's palace and some elegant residences. They were besieged and routed, again with many dead and wounded. But this bloody affair also taught the Spartacists nothing. They continued on their insane course. On January 7, 1919, with more sailors arriving, and a hand-

ful of local Left workers joining in, the Spartacists in Berlin launched a bitter, noisy, but utterly devoid of plan and sense, "offensive" against the regular army. For five days bullets were whizzing in the streets, the mass of workers and their families stayed indoors, blood ran into gutters and corpses marked the scene of battle. By the 12 of January the incredibly stupid, ultra-adventurist, criminal and fundamentally not anti-Capitalist but anti-working class uprising was suppressed, thousands of Spartacists killed and wounded. On the 15 of January Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered by von Hindenburg's officers in the employ of the Right Marxist Government. If Lenin in July 1917, when the Baltic fleet had gone over to the Bolsheviks, when many regiments already supported his demagogic slogan "All Power to the Soviets," even the formerly very reactionary Grenadier Guard Regiment announced "The regiment is against the Provisional Government and demands the transfer of power to the Soviets," when his misleading influence in Petrograd was already supreme—had he adopted the line of insurrection in July, the Bolshevik Party would have been annihilated, as he later said in his analysis. But although the Spartacist top leaders were dead, the blizzard of sporadic, ferocious insanity was renewed with incredible, redoubled fury. For a few days the Spartacists succeeded in capturing control in Bremen, Cuxhaven, Dusseldorf and a few other towns, without any realistic measurements of the situation in Germany. The inevitable happened once more. Unlike in Russia in November 1917, where the army abandoned the Socialist-Revolutionists and the Mensheviks and by the millions went over to Lenin, most regiments of the German army, backing the Majority Socialist Government, put down the "disruptive" Spartacists, again with thousands of casualties.

But despite new bloodletting, the Spartacist lunacy continued. Their ranks were the embodiment of enduring quality in a perfectly and perpetually negative to them conditions. From March 5 to March 13, 1919, a new Spartacist rising rocked Berlin, again bloodily suppressed. A world away from power, but seizing control now in one place, now in another, the Spartacists on April 7, 1919 established in Munich what they denominated as a "Soviet Government." It lasted until May 4.

How insignificant in numbers and significant in lack of mass support the Spartacists were can be gleaned from the elections to the first Reichstag of the German Republic held in June 1920. Of 466 deputies chosen, the Spartacists, who by now had recovered from their stormy period, and took the name "Communists," won only two!

Were Lenin and his colleagues, Trotsky, Stalin, and the rest of the top Bolshevik leaders, involved in any way in the German

events? They knew, of course, that the Spartacist frenzy was criminal and suicidal. Did Lenin, or Trotsky, give the Spartacists, even demagogically, a piece of criticism or practical advise? Neither *Pravda* nor *Izvestia* printed a review of the situation in Germany. The Bolshevik leaders refrained from pointing out that yesterday's pro-war policy of the Majority Socialists was largely forgotten by the German workers and the entire army the moment that political tendency adopted a pro-peace position. Not a single Bolshevik writer pointed out that it was the Majority Socialists, not the Spartacists, who overthrew the Kaiser and appealed to President Wilson for food. Reports stated that Herbert Hoover was crossing the Atlantic with a fleet of ships loaded with provisions to be delivered into the hands of the Majority Socialist Government. Lenin during the War wrote much on Germany, but not a word during the Spartacist madness to warn the Left workers and sailors that since the German people were not with them, they would be wiped out in blood.

Since there was not even a hint at such a warning from Lenin, or Trotsky, or Stalin, or any other Bolshevik leader, the investigator must widen the research. And in unearthing the truth about Lenin's role in the raging Spartacist lunacy of 1918-1919 both the Capitalist correspondents and the Bolshevik sources supply unexcelled service. Here is the story, hair-raising, bloodcurdling, incredible, yet *incontestable*.

Following the establishment of the Brest-Litovsk "peace" between Bolshevik Russia and Kaiser Germany, the two governments exchanged ambassadors; the imperial German clique sent its man to Moscow, Lenin his representative to Berlin.

After the armistice was signed in the West, rumors appeared in the Capitalist press that the Spartacists held a meeting in Berlin at which it was decided that Liebknecht should visit the Soviet Russian Embassy. That was merely a rumor, never denied or affirmed as a fact. Be that as it may, something of a high political significance appeared in *Pravda* during the Spartacist outburst in Munich, an article which verifies the worst suspicions. It was written by no less a figure than a leader universally acclaimed to stand next to Lenin in elevation, the Party's greatest orator, the organizer of the Bolshevik seizure of power, a top member of the Central Committee, the head of the Red Army, Leon Trotsky. He evaluated the 1918-1919 Spartacist suicidal behavior as follows:

"These erupting strikes, uprisings and battles constitute at the present moment the only accessible form of open mobilization of the forces of the German proletariat liberated from the yoke of the old Party, and at the same time they represent the only method, in the given situation, of educating new leaders and of building the new party. It is quite obvious that this path entails tremendous

exertions and demands innumerable sacrifices. But there is no choice." (Leon Trotsky, *Pravda*, April 23, 1919)

That's how the treacherous Bolshevik assassins, murderers and bandits of power instructed their victims in Germany to rush into fire, to perish by the thousands! Trotsky lied outrageously when he said "But there is no choice." He knew that Lenin's line in 1917 was against premature uprisings. He knew of Lenin's calling the display of the slogan "Down with the Provisional Government" a grave crime. He knew that on the 21 of June 1917 in *Pravda* Lenin warned his followers not to open a drive against the Government: "An immediate attack would be inexpedient." Trotsky lied brazenly because his article on the Spartacus lunacy was in part a monstrously shameless attack upon lower members of the Party who deplored the suicidal procedure in Germany. He introduced the argument with this question:

"At the same time, as though automatically the following question presents itself: aren't the leaders of the movement committing serious tactical mistakes which threaten the whole movement with ruin? . . . There is no choice."

Lenin in a tricky, Engelsonian way, upheld the policy that the Spartacists must be killed off: "The entire march of development of the German revolution and especially the struggle of the 'Spartacists,' i.e. the true and only representatives of the proletariat, against the union of traitorous scoundrels, the Scheidemanns and Sudekums with the bourgeoisie, all shows clearly how the question is posed by history with regard to Germany: 'Soviet power' or 'bourgeois parliament no matter under what sign ('National' or 'Constitutional' Assembly) it presents itself." (Col. Wks., XVI, 7)

Years passed. The policy of bleeding the Spartacists, officially approved by Lenin and Trotsky, and quite obviously shared by Stalin and other Bolshevik bandits of power faded in the memory of the revolutionary workers. Zinoviev, who supported that policy of assassination of the Spartacists wrote an article in 1924 in which he stated: "Then the Spartacist Union at the beginning of 1919, not having yet gathered sufficient strength took upon its shoulders a task beyond its might when it attempted to organize an armed uprising against the power of the bourgeoisie and Social Democrats, at a time when the Communists did not have a strong following among the German proletariat." ("The Fifth Anniversary of the Comintern," *The Communist International*, No. 1, "Jubilee Number," 91)

Twenty years after Lenin and Trotsky consciously, deliberately, as a result of careful thought, misled to be murdered at least ten thousand Spartacists, the American Trotskyites, perhaps ignorant of Trotsky's treacherous article in April 1919, but informed about the Spartacus self-destruction strategy, wrote: "For the Spartacus insurrection of 1919 was nothing but a completely planless, posi-

tively inconceivably naive playing with the fire of insurrection." (*New International*, Feb. 1939, 48)

XXI. STALIN CLEARS HITLER'S PATH TO POWER

For many years after the War German Capitalism suffered an intermittent crisis. It labored under a severe financial stringency. Inflation for a time was astronomical. Terrible poverty, unemployment, starvation, suicides were unprecedented.

The political picture was complex. On the extreme Right appeared of a number of small Fascist groups. In Bavaria, denouncing the cruelly pounding and grinding Treaty of Versailles, blaming the economic dislocation on the German Jews, arose a stark-naked anti-Semitic movement headed by Adolph Hitler. The Majority and Minority Socialists imperurbably controlled the working class. They became reunited into one organization (September 1922). Then there were the Nationalists who in April 1925, upon the death of the Right Marxist President Ebert, carried the election for President of the Kaiser's top general Paul von Hindenburg. Looming on the political horizon, but far less powerful than the Social Democrats and the Liberal Nationalists were the Freedom Party, the People's Party, Democrats, National Liberal Unionists, Centrists, German Social Party, all sorts of small Marxist and Liberal organizations and—the "Communists."

The Left Marxists pulled out of their staggering 1918-1919 madness and after their bleeding decline and numerical devastation transferred upon the broad avenue of "work among the masses." Politically they were an appendage of the Kremlin bureaucracy, of Stalin. In tow by Zinoviev, who with Stalin and Kamenev, taking advantage of Lenin's illness, conspired to establish themselves as the ruling Trio, the German "Communists" were swung a little to the Right and slightly to the Left of Lenin's 1917 tactical line. On the whole, the "Communists" operated in a far less objectionable way than in 1918-1919. In April 1925, in the elections for President, they received nearly two million votes (1,931,951).

Hitler christened his anti-Semitic organization The National Socialist German Workers Party, a Marxist-sounding denomination designed to confuse and win over "Communist" and Socialist followers. The portmanteau word for this appellation is *Nazis*—national Socialists.

The "Communists" of Germany, instigated by the Russian Marx-Leninists, cast a friendly eye in the direction of the Nazis. Suggestions of making united fronts, on occasion, with the Hitlerites against the Social Democrats were quietly put forth from Moscow. Radek, originally a vociferous defender of Lenin's pre-power slogan of revolutionary war, later a supporter of Trotsky's lie "Comrade

Lenin did not leave any will" which shielded Stalin, and besides, a Jew, is a classic example of the rottenness of Moscow bureaucrats. "Radik glorified the anti-Semitic soldier Schlageter . . . Radek's speech aroused frantic applause. In Germany it was the basis of a series of fraternal actions between the Communists and the Nazis. Communist firms published brochures in which Communist and Nazi statements appeared alongside each other." (Held, *Fourth International*, Jan. 1943, 24)

Although the Nazis were demonstrably antagonistic toward the "Communists," frequently attacking them with fists, knives and revolvers, the leaders of the "Communist" Party, without any embarrassment stooped to the despicable level of adjustment to the Nazi's anti-Semitism. Thus, Willi Muenzenberg, chief editor of the "Communist" paper *Welt am Abend*, in its August 4, 1931 issue, assured its readers that "On the editorial board of the *Welt am Abend* there is today not one single Jew."

A month before, in July 1931, Stalin put the leadership of the "Communist" Party to a severe, almost agonizing test to meet his bureaucratic requirements of passive assistance to the Fascists to stabilize Capitalism in turbulent Germany. Briefly, this was the situation. The Prussian Landtag, or parliament, was under the domination of the Social Democrats. The Steel Helmet League, a Fascist organization kindred to the Nazis, sponsored a referendum to oust the Right Marxist Landtag as a body incompetent and incapable of governing Prussia. The Hitlerites immediately joined in. The victory of this proposition would generate an atmosphere propitious to the Fascists to occupy the administrative area. The Nazis not only gave the project their support but placed themselves at the head of the drive. This was quite logical. Starting with a few hundred individuals in 1923, the insignificant Hitlerite sect in five years had reached a level just behind the "Communists," polling in the 1928 elections 809,939 votes; but since then its advance was fantastically spectacular, reaching in the September 1930 elections *six million four hundred thousand!*

In Stalin's period, as in Lenin's, stability of German Capitalism was of prime importance to the bureaucratic order in Russia. Having been informed of the projected referendum, Stalin decided that no better move to disorient his German followers than to direct the "Communists" to support the referendum. Accordingly, he ordered his Moscow flunkies to label the project "The Red Referendum" and "The People's Referendum," although his penmen made no secret of the Fascist nature of the proposed measure. In the "Communist" journal *International Press Correspondence*, this admission was printed: "The People's Referendum referred to by the Communist diet fraction is the Referendum which has been organized by the Fascist and German Nationalist Parties. Its fate

at the moment is uncertain, but with Communist support its victory would be made certain and the Prussian Government overthrown." (Issue of July 23, 1931)

In the mind of the German "Communist" leadership, Stalin's instructions to aid Fascism on such an immense scale was hard to believe. Touched with a fleeting spark of common sense, the top German Stalinists grasped that if the Capitalist-democratic regime in Prussia were removed, the only administration replacing it would be a Fascist dictatorship. Quite daringly and unexpectedly they rejected Stalin's instructions to participate in the Referendum.

But Stalin was relentless. His representative on the Executive Committee of the "Communist" International, called for short "Rep," warned the German leaders that they would be removed from their posts and branded as "lackeys of Social Democracy," as "enemies of the proletariat," as "traitors to Socialism" if they sabotaged the policy for the ouster of the Prussian Landtag. *Pravda* of July 24, 1931 categorically declared: "Failure to participate in the Referendum would signify that the Communists support the present reactionary Landtag."

The Rep of the "Comintern" and other abject toadies of Stalin, in long and bitter discussions with the German leaders, at length induced them to give up their obstinate noncompliance with the "correct" line. One of the upper crust of the "Communist" bureaucrats, O. Piatnitsky, later related about that dispute:

"You know, for example, that the leadership of the Party opposed taking part in the referendum on the dissolution of the Prussian Landtag. A number of Party newspapers published leading articles opposing participation in that referendum. But when the Central Committee of the Party jointly with the Comintern arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to take an active part in the referendum, the German comrades in the course of a few days aroused the whole Party." (*The Work of the Communist Parties of France and Germany*, 3)

On the 9 of August, 1931, the Social Democrats, the Liberals, members of various conservative organizations, in Berlin and in other towns and villages of Prussia rubbed their eyes in speechless disbelief and amazement as they watched the "Communist" workers with placards "Support the People's Referendum" marching alongside of Hitlerites and other Fascists to the polls to sign their own death warrant.

More astonished than all the rest of the population were the Hitlerites. To them the cooperation of the "Communists," many of whom were Jews, was a profound mystery.

However, the Hitler-Stalin attempt in 1931 to install Fascism in power in Prussia, the chief component of the German Republic, failed. Out of 26,488,114 electors, 9,763,603 voted for the Fascist-

Communist move to dismiss the Capitalist-democratic Government of Prussia. The required fifty percent was not obtained.

The situation after the Referendum was indicative of convincing indications that no obstacle existed to the Fascist march to power. The Nazis were shielded by the "Capitalist democratic" old militarist von Hindenburg. The large Right Marxist Social Democracy was a model of passivity, and so were the Liberals. The "Communists," vociferous at times in sham pose of opposition to Fascism, were actively cooperative. They not only supported the Fascist Referendum but the Fascist-instigated street car strike and other Fascist affairs. Hitler, vigorous, aggressive, quite perceptive of Stalin's policy of paralysis of any resistance to the Nazi activity, almost intoxicated with the confidence that power was within his reach, rapidly grew in political strength. From the day of the Referendum, August 9, 1931, to the elections July 31, 1932 the Nazis registered the most sensational gain in the history of parliamentarism. Their representation in the Reichstag leaped from 107 seats to 230! The "Communists" also registered a rather modest gain of three, reaching 89 seats. The Social Democrats lost 10, and the lesser parties and groups were virtually wiped out.

There are situations in history which inexorably lead to a civil conflict on the field of battle. Logically and quite in the nature of things, the steady growth of the Nazi forces on the one side and of the "Communists," fundamentally enemies of Fascism, on the other, presaged an armed clash. But the cluster of Stalin's appointees leading the six million "Communist" workers, the most militant element within the German working class, were so servile, so meanly submissive to the master in Moscow that it shrunk from the very thought of preventing with arms in hand the seizure of power by the Nazis. The "Communist" leadership could have declared that it was not out to obtain power but to save Capitalist democracy because Fascism was a million times more brutal than any other Capitalist regime. It could have launched a campaign of exposure of the chief fraud in the Nazi propaganda that the Jew was responsible for the tragic history of Germany, would have shown that anti-Semitism was a traditional political device to use the Jews as a classical scapegoat, running through all the twenty centuries of Christianity, that the Jews had nothing to do with the Kaiser's declaration of war in 1914, nor with the conduct of the conflict nor with the oppressive Treaty of Versailles. Logically continuing such an anti-Nazi policy it would have presented demands to von Hindenburg to arrest Hitler and his chiefs, dissolve this organization, disarm its members and wipe it out of political existence.

Such a change of policy would have been possible if the "Communist" leaders struck out for independence from Moscow. They would have shaken the 12,000,000 Social Democrats out of their

fatal passivity. Nazi meetings and pompous parades would have been broken up by force, their headquarters smashed, their swastikas torn up and burned in the streets as a flag of bandits and professional murderers.

Did the Nazis, even at the peak of their strength, in July 1932, possess the numerical, intellectual and moral capacity to endure an onslaught by the whole working class of Germany? Investigation indicates that their pomp and vigor became inflated, support by their voters unsteady, their tenacity of purpose reduced. The Reichstag elected in July was dissolved by Hindenburg and a new election was scheduled for November 7, 1932. In these forthcoming three months Hitler, Hindenburg and other perpetrators of Nazi dictatorship calculated Hitler would automatically become chancellor of Germany. They bitterly miscalculated. The result of the elections was a severe blow to Nazi hopes. Their representation collapsed from 230 to 195. They lost two million votes. The Nazi tide was now rapidly receding. On the other end of the political scale the "Communists" sharply advanced from 89 to 100 seats, increasing their ballot strength to more than 6,000,000.

Following the debacle of November 7, 1932 elections, Hitler's party rapidly entered a crisis of internal dissension, decline and disintegration. A month after the election six hundred leading Nazis resigned from his organization. Gregor Straeser, one of the ardent supporters and personal friends of Hitler, the chief Nazi organizer, withdrew from the party.

Ten days after the catastrophic elections, on November 17, 1932 Hitler had a long consultation with President von Hindenburg, who had been reelected by 18,000,000 votes of the Social Democrats and Liberals against 11,000,000 for Hitler. The two "antagonists" agreed that the situation was not appropriate to name Hitler Chancellor.

A very large organization on the verge of internal collapse cannot be held together indefinitely. Hindenburg had to act fast to save the Nazi movement from complete decomposition. On December 2, 1932 Hindenburg appointed a pro-Fascist Lieutenant Kurt von Schleicher Chancellor. Nothing happened in the "Communist," the Socialist and, of course, in the most inert of Hitler's "opponents," the Liberal camp. Hindenburg perceived that he was on sure grounds, unthreatened from any quarter, and that the coast was clear to put Hitler in power. On the 28 of January 1933 Chancellor von Schleicher resigned, and on the 30th Hindenburg put Hitler in von Schleicher's place.

The "Communists," the Socialists, the Liberals, and also the Jews, not only in Germany, but all over the world, lived on empty hope, which excluded all political understanding of the role Marxism played in society. Their hope was that somehow, the anti-

Hitler majority of the population, or rather the non-Hitlerite, passive, drugged, paralyzed anti-Fascist preponderant part of the German population, would succeed in stopping the Nazis. The most bewildered, most blinded sector of the population was the Stalinists. Every conceivable mental narcotic was used by Stalin to bewilder and stupefy them. "But Germany in 1933 is not like Italy in 1922" wrote O. Piatnitsky (*The Present Situation in Germany*, 42), referring to the year when Mussolini seized power. The treacherous Trotsky, residing in Turkey, chimed in, "It would be patently stupid to believe that the subsequent evolution of Germany will go the Italian road." (*Militant*, April 8, 1933) Two and a half months after the Nazis more than doubled their forces in the July 1932 elections, Stalin's international journal declared: "It may seem that in Germany, at the present time, for example, the chief social bulwark of the bourgeoisie is Fascism, and that, therefore, we should deal the chief blows against Fascism. This is not correct." (*The Communist International*, October 15, 1932)

Hitler went into the work of suppression and repression with the forces of a hurricane. "Communist" and Socialist workers and leaders were set upon in the streets, were severely beaten, many were killed. Those who remained alive were rounded up and placed in concentration camps to die there of tortures and starvation. Attacks upon the Jews grew more ferocious daily. Liberals were hounded out of public life, with many put behind bars. Terror was rising remorselessly.

But even before the mass murder, signs appeared that relations between Stalin and Hitler were developing along cordial lines. The *New York Times* of March 2, 1933 reported: "Of greater practical interest is the recent agreement concluded by the Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Gesellschaft and the Dresden Bank to provide \$50,000,000 in new credits to the Soviet Union."

XXII. STALIN OPENS THE ROAD FOR FRANCO

While Stalin was clearing Hitler's path to power, a revolutionary fire of no small dimensions burst out in Spain. The new, turbulent period in that country began with the proclamation of the Republic on April 14, 1931.

At the beginning of the Republic Stalin had no influence among the Spanish masses. Millions of Spanish workers followed the Socialists, that is, the Right Wing Marxists; millions backed the Anarchists, who are distant political relatives of the Marxists. The lack of any Stalinist following is confirmed by Stalinist writers. "The Communist Party in Spain had only a few hundred members at the time when the Spanish Republic was proclaimed in April

1931." (O. Piatnitsky, *The World Economic Crisis*, 63) There were fourteen members in Madrid, meeting in private apartments. Rendered idiotic by Stalin's intoxicating political directives, "When the masses came out on the streets to celebrate the proclamation of the Republic, the Communists shouted Ddown with the Republic," just as did the monarchists." (Ib.)

Henceforth Spain was pulsating with strikes, demonstrations, and armed clashes between workers and the police and other State forces. The influence of Stalin gradually increased, but not spectacularly.

Then, about two years after he had aided Hitler to introduce Fascist horror in Germany, Stalin came to the full realization that to continue using the fraudulent term "Social Fascism" for Social Democracy and other nonsensical features was getting positively ludicrous. So, in July 1935, at the Seventh Congress of the "Communist" International, his obsequious lackeys unlocked the front doors of their organizations all over the world toward unity on policy with Right Wing Marxism, the world Socialist movement. Now the Stalinists went berserk with the new line, which was pouring out of Moscow in ceaseless torrents.

With the change of the line, as the internal political crisis in Spain intensified, the membership of the Spanish Stalinist party expanded from a few miserable, completely isolated individuals to a hundred thousand members. Stalin was moving toward supervision over the policy of the Social Democrats, the mainstay of the Republic, who found his policy of maintaining Capitalism in Spain identical with their own.

A distinction between the threat to Stalin's power contained in the possibility of establishment of a German Marxist State and the embarrassment to him in the event his Spanish hangers-on took control in Spain must be mentioned. In the German instance the risk was that the center of gravity of the world working class would definitely have shifted away from Russia toward Marxist Germany, a country whose technical level in the Twenties and early Thirties was infinitely higher than that of the Soviet Union. Stalin rather accurately projected his moves in Germany to safeguard his home power and international prestige. In addition to being the most Industrialized country on the Continent, Germany, traditionally, was the homeland of "Scientific Socialism" and birthland of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The reason for Stalin's betrayal in Spain was different. Industrially Spain was a backward country compared with the Soviet Union. There was no danger that in the event the Spanish Stalinists seized control and declared independence from Russia, Marxist Spain would become the world center of Marxism. But being far afield from the Kremlin, at the extreme southeastern end of Europe, Spain could not be kept under his

heel as, a few years later, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the Baltic States, all contiguous with Russia. His unprincipled gang of Spanish leaders could have, without fearing him, made a sharp turn toward what later became known as "Titoism," a term coined when his Yugoslav supporter, Tito, fearlessly declared separation from Russia after Stalin blundered by withdrawing Russian troops from Yugoslavia. Moreover, a victory of his gang in Spain would have ignited revolutionary fires in neighboring Portugal and France. Stalin had to betray Capitalist democracy in Spain to prevent its transformation into a Marxist dictatorship, as Marx had to betray the Paris Commune to prevent the rise of "the spirit of 1792," or Lenin in 1918-1919 had to arrange the carnage of the Spartacists to eliminate the risk of losing his preponderant influence in the world Marxist camp, as Stalin himself, continuing Lenin's policy, betrayed Capitalist democracy in Germany to Hitler.

The new line launched by Stalin in Moscow led by the leaders of both major wings of Marxism to the formation of a Popular or People's Front, purportedly aimed at defending Capitalist democracy against Fascism. The "Communists," now eyeing the Socialists no longer as enemies, as "Social Fascists," worse than the Hitlerites, instead of attacking them with clubs and knives, were greeting them with outstretched hands as "Socialist friends." The rumor was spread, originating naturally in Moscow, simple enough to verify, that the "Communist" and the Socialist International would form one organization of "organic unity." The worker followers of the two sets of Marxist cheats were delighted at this prospect, which never went beyond the verbal stage. They were made to believe that with the working class united as never before, the triumphant, tempestuous march of Fascism would be halted, Hitler and Mussolini would be pulled down from their highly elevated, bloodbespattered pedestals. The Right-Wing Socialists welcomed the new Stalinist line with applause. The Jewish Right Socialist newspaper *Forward* in New York with outward pleasure wrote: "A correct word comes from Moscow at last, an open-hearted declaration that . . . there are in these countries only two issues, Democracy and Fascism. We sign this declaration with both hands." The *Forward* withheld any serious criticism of the German Social Democracy, which had shown no active *physical* opposition to the murderous street terror emanating from Hitler's headquarters.

The implied meaning in Moscow's friendly approach to Social Democracy, and in the joyous acceptance of that line by the Right Marxists, was that Stalin henceforth would order his followers to defend Capitalist democracy whenever it was threatened by Fascism. Stripped of this implication, however, by actual history, Stalin's hidden idea was to strengthen Fascism, to protect Hitler and

Mussolini against their internal and external enemies. To achieve this end he would conspire with the leaders of Social Democracy who, as shown historically, violated on numerous occasions their professed allegiance to Capitalist democracy, to peace, in favor of militarism and Fascism. In the instructive case of the German experience, many Socialist leaders voted confidence in Hitler's policy after he was appointed Chancellor. Hitler rewarded them with a "comfortable" spot in the concentration camp. Stalin essentially was a conspirator. Not only did he plot against the Tsar and the Capitalists but he conspired against Lenin, later against Trotsky, then against his partners in the "Trio," Zinoviev and Kamenev, still later against most of his supporters in the Bolshevik leadership. High on his conspiratorial list were the Jews.

Toward the end of 1935 the political hurricane in Spain was shaking all strata of the population. Peasants seized the land from the landlords, strikes against the Capitalists multiplied, workers broke into arsenals and seized weapons, the Anarchists on the extreme Left burned churches—a stupid, violent reaction against the clergy and religion. Encounters between Fascist officers and armed workers occurred almost daily. Against the background of this commotion the sessions of the Cortes, echoing the social conditions, grew stormy. On January 8, 1936 the Cortes was dissolved and new elections were designated to be held on February 16.

In the elections the recently formed combined "Communist-Socialist People's Front," reinforced with Left Republican Liberals headed by Manuel Azana, won a sweeping victory. On May 10, 1936 Azana was elected President of the Republic.

During the election campaign the People's Front had promised to subdue the Fascists, to crush them, and to clear the way for a stable, operative democracy, leading toward a "Soviet Spain." The opposite was occurring. The Fascist attacks upon the Socialist, the "Communist" and the Anarchist workers in the streets and shops, in meeting halls, became intensified. Vigorous Fascist preparations for a coup were becoming obvious.

There can be no doubt that secret talks were conducted by the Stalinists with the Socialist leaders, and that programmatic secrets were passed between the combined Marxist wings, the Azana Liberals, and the Fascist deputies in the Cortes. It is significant that in the election of Azana as President, the Fascist deputies refrained from putting up an opposing candidate. Hence, Azana was put into the top office of the Popular Front Government not only by the Stalinist-Socialist-Liberal association but also, indirectly, by the Fascists!

On July 18, 1936, General Franco, who had been recently appointed by Azana as Governor of the Canary Islands, rebelled against the Republic, and the next day, with a group of Fascist

officers and Moroccan tribesmen, landed on the Spanish peninsula. Stalin's brightest plan in the plot was to establish virtually overnight a Fascist regime. The strategy was to have the generals in various centers of Spain seize control. Then a group of Fascist officers with an army recruited of Moroccans and some mercenaries of the Spanish Foreign Legion land on the Spanish Peninsula and, unopposed by the Popular Front Government, proceed north to unite the Fascist centers into a network, and thus occupy all of Spain. The whole operation would take two or three weeks at the most. The perpetrators of the plot never expected a civil war lasting from July 18, 1936 to March 28, 1939, with heavy casualties suffered by both sides, the Fascists under General Franco and the masses under the sabotaging Stalin-guided Popular Front Government, or under other names, the Republic, the Loyalist regime.

The Liberal Azana, head of the Republic, was among the chief saboteurs. His personal assessment of General Franco, officially, was purely technical. Almost all the people in Spain knew that Franco was an ultra-Rightist, most reactionary officer, in plain a Fascist, and a plotter to establish a military dictatorship. The *New York Times Magazine* of November 8, 1936 reported: "After the monarchy collapsed, some of the Spanish Republicans wanted Franco cashiered. Manuel Azana, then Minister of War, refused. 'Franco is above all a soldier,' he said. 'We can count on his integrity.'"

That Azana had been informed of the grandiose Fascist plot, that he took no measures to suppress the military rebellion, no attempt to save Capitalist democracy, soon came out into the open view. *The New York Times* of September 1, 1936 reported: "Mr. Azana, his critics charge, failed to take decisive action before or after the civil war broke out and ignored warnings of his advisers."

When Franco seized control of Morocco, a day before landing on the Peninsula, he communicated by radio with his co-conspirator generals in Spain, calling upon them to join him. Instantly the commanders of the garrisons in far-flung-apart cities rebelled and assumed power—not only in Malaga, Oviedo, Toledo, Seville, Saratoga, Burgos, but even in Barcelona, on the Mediterranean coast.

Madrid was captured by the local Fascists three days after Franco landed in Spain. The situation in Madrid was puzzling to virtually every worker in the city. The soldiers of the garrison, it was generally known, in their political leanings, were anti-Fascist and sincere supporters of the Popular Front Government. In consequence, everybody reasonably assumed, they would be used by the Government to crush the Fascist rebellion. But no. "Madrid troops remained in their barracks, confined there by order of the Government. To a great extent that suited the plans of the conspirators. . . ." (N.Y.T., July 22, 1936)

It was important to Franco, and of course to Stalin, to conceal the moves by the Fascist armed forces from the workers. After Franco, with his barbaric Moroccan tribesmen and a band of officers, crossed the Straits from Africa and seized Algeciras, people fleeing North spread the exciting news. Next day "The Government categorically repudiated rumors that troops had crossed the straits from Morocco and landed at Algeciras, or that Franco, military Governor of the Canary Islands, had joined the rebellion." (N.Y.T., July 19, 1936)

But Stalin did not notice a certain difference between the position of the working class of Spain and that of Germany. In laying the ground for the emergence of the Hitler regime, Stalin engineered a strategy whereby the mind of the most militant workers was diverted from the danger of Fascism and turned against the passive Social Democracy. But in Spain, using a bloc with Social Democracy, Stalin made a serious miscalculation. He could not help electrically charging the mind of the entire working class of Spain, irrespective of political affiliation of its various sections, with a strong anti-Fascist spirit. Fitting into the anti-Fascist wave was a large part of the land-hungry peasantry. In the field, in contrast with the intriguing officers of the Government, the Fascist generals faced the raging, storming, Stalinist, Socialist, Anarchist and Trotskyist workers. Stalin did not count on that. Because of his miscalculation, shared by his Socialist partners, the civil war in Spain turned into a gigantic, long-lasting affair, with the Government sabotaging, but the masses courageously fighting.

The problem Stalin and the leaders of the Socialists faced was the armed workers organized in a militia. When the Fascist generals seized control of Madrid, Barcelona and other centers, the workers broke loose from the discipline imposed on them by the Government, took the offensive and struck a furious blow at the professional military forces of Fascism. One week after Franco and his generals rebelled, *The New York Times* of July 25, 1936 reported: "The proletarian militia fought a battle that history will record as one of the most severe ever contested by a civilian army against trained military forces."

In rapid succession Madrid, Barcelona and other cities were rescued from the clutches of the bitterly fighting Fascist forces. The workers imagined their furious reaction to Franco's attempt to install a military dictatorship was liquidated. Neither they, nor the Capitalist newspapermen grasped the essence of the policy of the People's Front Government. But the *Times* correspondent noted the significance of the role performed by the armed workers:

"The key to the understanding of events is the fact that, in the four great cities of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Malaga, where the rebellion was suppressed, the suppression was accom-

plished not by Government troops or by Civil Guards, but by armed workers." (N.Y.T., Sept. 17, 1936)

A few lesser cities remained in the hands of Franco. All that he could do now was to live up to his commitment and struggle to regain the chief cities. And all that the Stalin-sponsored Popular Front Government could do was to continue its sabotage, but at the same time not to do anything drastically open which would not merely shake but completely undermine the confidence of the shock anti-Fascist fighters in the Popular Front Government.

On the attitude toward the Fascist officers, an inadvertent admission was made by a Socialist leader and a member of the Government, Indalicio Prieto: "The Government forces," he declared, "have not been used up to now to their full efficiency, as would have been done in the case of a foreign invasion. I take as a typical example that of Toledo, where a group of rebel officers is entrenched. It would have been very easy for one of our bombing planes to blow up the Alcazar, but our enemies are Spaniards as we are. . ." (N.Y.T., Aug. 4, 1936)

On September 27, 1936 the Fascist army occupied Toledo, relieved the besieged officers, and instituted a frightful carnage of the workers. Promptly Indalicio Prieto, instead of being removed from the governing circle, was appointed Minister of Air and Marines. It was a superb appointment for the Fascist cause.

Rapidly becoming the most popular figure in the People's Front Spain, from the very early phases of the Civil War, was not President Azana, not the Socialist Premier Caballero, not Prieto or any other State official but a non-Spaniard, the brutal master of the Soviet Union, the frame up manager who murdered or imprisoned nearly all the 1917 members of the Bolshevik Party, the inventor of "Social Fascism," an obvious crony of Hitler, Joseph Stalin. His picture hung on the walls in millions of workers' homes. "An enormous picture of Stalin decorates the Puerra del Sol, business center of Madrid." (*The New York Herald Tribune*, Jan. 17, 1937) In the sale of pamphlets, articles, books in Madrid, Barcelona and other big cities, Stalin's works were the first runners. The outstanding feature in popularizing the criminal Marxist-Leninist chief was not his literary products but something far more substantial in the eyes of the Spanish masses. It was "material aid" he sent to the Popular Front Government. Russian ships loaded with war supplies began to dock in Spanish ports. On October 15, 1936, three months after Franco opened the Civil War, the first Stalinist vessel, *Ziryanin*, arrived in Barcelona. The working population of the city irresistably went wild with enthusiasm, acclaiming Stalin as a true friend of the Spanish democracy. With his hypocritical modesty Stalin wrote to his loyal Spanish henchman, Jose Diaz: "The toilers of the Soviet Union only do their duty when they give all

the aid within their power to the revolutionary masses of Spain."

Stalin was full of distrust toward all his subordinates, toward even members of his family. If he outwardly displayed confidence in his German henchmen to allow Hitler to take control without any "Communist" resistance, he did that because of the impossibility for them to induce, on short order, a mental change in their 6,000,000 followers. It was the opposite in Spain. Here war was in progress—an intensive Civil War, growing daily in bitterness, severity and dimension. His servitors might rebel against the Popular Front Government from the Left, and proceed to conduct a real war against Fascism instead of maneuvering for defeat. There was resentment among the workers, even among some lower "Communist" leaders. A Stalinist leader, discussing Toledo with an American correspondent, criticized the Government. "It is impossible to win the war with such delicate tactics," the Communist added. He reported rising resentment among Communist and Anarchist workers who made up the hurriedly enlisted government militia." (N.Y.T., Aug. 17, 1936) Stalin's Spanish top men might disregard in the months to come his ascendancy in the "Communist" world, strike out on their own and establish themselves as Marxist dictators of Spain. Stalin would take no chances. He sent to Spain numerous members of his secret police to spy on the leaders of the "Communist" Party, thus encasing them within his control securely and effectively. Also, he commissioned a group of Russian officers to direct the military policy of the Government. Officially in charge of war operations was a Spaniard, General Miaja, but standing behind him, looking over his shoulder at the map of Spain, was Stalin's man, General Goriev. Officially, at the head of the cabinet was a Socialist, Largo Caballero, but in an unofficial capacity, directing this top body of the Popular Front regime, was Marcel Rosenberg, Stalin's Ambassador to the Spanish Republic. He not only attended all the sessions of the Cabinet, "It was Mr. Rosenberg who handpicked the Largo Caballero Cabinet. (N.Y.T., Dec. 7, 1939)

Little by little the masses of Spain were becoming Stalinized. Tens of thousands of Socialist and Anarcho-Syndicalist workers joined the "Communist" Party. The Asturian miners formed a "Stalin Battalion." Women workers launched a "Maxim Gorky" brigade. In Catalonia the Stalinist Party performed a remarkable feat by swallowing up the Socialist Party. The joint leadership formed a new organization, The United Socialist Party of Catalonia, affiliated to the "Communist" International. Speaking figuratively, overnight the Stalinist press went up in circulation—from being the smallest to becoming the largest in Spain.

After the workers in Madrid put down the Fascists, the large anti-Fascist air force attacked General Mola's troops, holding up

his advance upon the capital. "The Rebels have been severely handicapped by the superiority of Madrid's air force. Headquarters sources revealed that bombing by Loyalist planes played the greatest part in holding up General Mola's advance on Madrid over the Guadarrama Mountains." (N.Y.T., Aug. 12, 1936)

So the Popular Front Government, upholding further its policy of sabotaging resistance to Franco, began to restrain its aviators on the maliciously fabricated charge that they could not be trusted. "Madrid is said to distrust men in the air force; fear of desertions limits attacks by plane." (N.Y.T., Aug. 18, 1936)

A number of anti-Fascist fliers in Capitalist-Democratic countries, also in the Soviet Union, applied to the Spanish People's Front Government for service in the Civil War: "Many Russian, Polish and Mexican fliers have offered their services, it was said, but the Government professes reluctance to employ them because international complications might result." (Ib.)

An interesting episode of sabotage is told by a Left writer, formerly a naive Stalinist, the first American to join the International Brigade to fight Franco, Louis Fisher:

"A giant German junkers bomber rested on the ground. It had flown from Germany with other machines but lost its way and landed at Madrid with a crew of four. It had three motors. I climbed into it, moved some levers, touched the bomb racks. 'Why don't you use it?' I asked the commandant of the airdrome. 'We obey orders,' he replied. I talked to Foreign Minister Julio Alvarez del Vayo about the junkers. He looked sad. 'The French Embassy,' he said to help me understand. It was still difficult to understand. Out of consideration for France, the Spanish Republic did not use a German machine." (*Men and Politics*, 363)

The most spirited, proud, fierce and terrifying anti-Fascist fighters were the members of the International Brigades composed of volunteers recruited by Stalin's agents from among the "Communists" in France, England, the United States and other Capitalist-democratic countries. The first Brigade, formed in hasty response to the emergency, marched through the streets of Madrid on November 8, 1936. The working people of the city, recognizing in their arrival an event of world-shaking significance, were overpowered with emotion. Fascinated, they greeted the Brigadiers all along the impressive, orderly march with the cries "Long Live Stalin!" "Long Live Soviet Russia!" "Death to Fascism!"

The high Government officials pretended profound attention to the military needs of the Brigadiers. They were armed at once by the Ministry of Defense. But the arms, it was later discovered, were obsolete. Next day they were thrown against Franco's latest artillery and finest machine-guns which he had received in abundance from Hitler and Mussolini. The Brigadiers were massacred.

The second International Brigade arrived a week later and suffered a similar fate. The Dutchess of Athol, member of British Parliament, in her book *Searchlight on Spain*, wrote: "Even in March, 1937, professor J. B. S. Haldane found the British Battalion of the International Brigade under orders to take Italian and German machine-gun positions with rifles dating from the eighties and nineties of last century. Another visitor has frequently seen rifles in use marked 'Oviedo 1896.'" (93)

Was the People's Front Government short of war material? Only three weeks before the first International Brigade arrived, *The New York Times* in the issue of October 18, 1936 reported: "It is significant that the War Ministry is filled with cases of ammunition, which somehow never seem to get to the front."

The winter of 1936-1937, cold and ugly, lending real severity, was coming on. In Franco's camp the provision of warm clothes for the troops was of prime concern to the Fascist officers. A correspondent of *The New York Times* in the issue of November 29, 1936 recorded this provision of the Fascist army: "The men are also warmly clothed and shod. Their khaki uniforms are covered by ponchos, big woolen blankets cut like cloaks with openings in the middle for their heads. They all wear sturdy watertight boots."

But inside Madrid and on its outskirts the picture was different. Louis Fisher, writing in a Liberal journal, *The Nation*, of December 12, 1936, stated: "The stores in Madrid still have heavy stocks of winter underwear, warm blankets, and flannel garments while four kilometers away the men who are defending the city sleep lightly clothed in frozen trenches."

* * *

The Marxist historians, prompted by the need to conceal the numerous outrages, lies and trickery of the founders and continuers of the vicious system, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, with their Right cousins in politics, Caballero, Prieto, Negrin, and the Capitalist historians who are impulsively guided by surface appearances, never embarking upon a thorough investigation, present the Civil War in Spain as simply a conflict between Capitalist democracy and Fascism. That is the basic lie. When Jesus Hernandez, "Communist" Minister of Education in the Azana Government, asserted, "We are motivated exclusively by a desire to defend the democratic republic established on April 14, 1931." (N.Y.T., Aug. 10, 1936), he covered up the fact that the whole strategy of the People's Front Government was to turn over Spain to Fascism. If Hernandez, or Diaz, or General Miaja, attempted to be truthful in action, if any one of the high officials went on his own and deviated one degree from Stalin's line which was to relinquish, by stages, gradually, one city after another to the Fascist army, he would have been seized by the authorities, charged with being a Franco

agent, and shot.

In Russia, at the very time Franco unfolded the Civil War, a "witchcraft trial" drama of the most gruesome type was being performed by Stalin's officials. On the 19 of August 1936 a large number of the once highest members of the "Jacobin" Bolshevik Party, all of exceptional baseness, all vicious criminals, having undergone worse than medieval tortures in Stalin's prisons, were brought before his "proletarian court." They all "confessed" that they had been in the service of Hitler, of imperialism, that they plotted to assassinate the top leaders of the USSR as a prelude to the reestablishment of Capitalism in Russia. They said the mastermind of the whole conspiracy was Trotsky, in exile in Mexico. Declared one of the prisoners at the bar, Zinoviev: "Trotskyism is a variety of Fascism." (*Report of Court Proceedings*, 171)

The entire press of the "Communist" movement followed this thesis invented by Stalin. Thus in the United States *The Communist* of September 1936 stated: "Trotskyism today stands exposed not only as an ally of Fascism objectively but as a current in Fascism." It was a frame up method of struggle of one criminal branch of Marxism, the main branch, in power, against another, just as criminal insofar as the betrayal of Socialism was concerned.

So when Stalin placed a detachment of his secret police, the G.P.U., in Spain, that boded disaster for the semi-Trotskyist Workers Party of Marxist Unification, POUM for short. Among the first signs that a large frame up of the POUM, which counted over 50,000 followers, was afoot appeared in an article in a Stalinist magazine of world circulation: "When an air raid was in progress one night in Madrid, a gang of Trotskyists took advantage of the darkness to commit the cowardly assassination of a group of active members of the Party." (*Communist International*, Nov. 1936)

The politically myopic leaders of the POUM failed to grasp that this vicious lie was but a ramification of the "witchcraft trial" in Moscow, aimed at their organization which now was scheduled for destruction, as a means of striking at Left militant workers and for consolidation of the control of the Popular Front Government. The most ominous part of this article was the statement that "while the People's Militia were conducting a heroic struggle near Sierra Guadarrama, a terrorist plot of Fascist-Trotskyites was discovered, aimed at the murder of Jose Diaz, Dolores, Largo Caballero and Azana." With open viciousness Stalin's Moscow *Pravda* wrote on December 17, 1936: "As for Catalonia, the purging of the Trotskyites and the Anarcho-Syndicalists has begun. It will be conducted with the same energy with which it was conducted in the U.S.S.R."

The mind of the Spanish working class, almost completely cap-

tured by Stalin, was being shaped for the emergence of an attack upon the Left-most wing of the supporters of the Popular Front Government.

On February 7, 1937, the Left Socialist Caballero's police, whose hand was guided by Stalin's G.P.U., closed the POUM's newspaper *El Combatiente Rojo* in Madrid, and on March 17 the Catalan Generality, fully subservient to the central pro-Stalin administration in Spain, ordered the closing of the POUM's main organ, *La Bataille*. Capitalist democracy, being strangled by Stalin, was gradually becoming but a rosy memory.

To cover up the strangulation of Capitalist democracy under the sign of intensifying the fight against Fascism, Stalin ordered the attack on the Trotskyites and the strongly anti-Fascist Anarcho-Syndicalists to be accompanied by several victories against Franco. Under the supervision of Goriev a dramatic battle against Mussolini's troops was won (March 13-18, 1937) while the police were closing the POUM paper in Catalonia. Franco's troops were overwhelmed and massacred at Brunette, an exceptionally strong, well-fortified position west of Madrid (July 1937). Another slaughter of the Fascists occurred at Teruel.

On May 15, 1937, the Left Socialist Caballero stepped down and the Right Socialist Dr. Juan Negrin assumed the guidance of the "Republic." His announced aim was "to use an iron hand to maintain order." (N.Y.T., May 19, 1937) Four weeks later, on June 16, 1937 the police arrested the POUM leaders, Andres Nin and all the members of the POUM executive committee. Next day every POUM building was occupied by the police, thousands of members and chance visitors were rounded up and spirited away to an unspecified destination. Several days later the mutilated body of Andres Nin was found on a road near Madrid. Tens of thousands of members of the POUM and its sympathizers, murdered by Stalin's G.P.U. and Negrin's police, were buried in unmarked graves. Cried Dolores Ibaruri, a very popular Stalinist figure during the Civil War: "The Trotskyites must be exterminated and destroyed like beasts of prey, for otherwise, at the decisive moment, when our forces will want to take the offensive we will be unable to do so on account of the disorder provoked in our rear by the Trotskyites." (*Frente Rojo*, Aug. 9, 1937)

It took over a year for the Negrin-Stalin machine, using the Trotskyites and the militant Anarcho-Syndicalist "Friends of Durruti" as a permanent target, to consolidate an iron military dictatorship over the population under its control. Meantime the Stalinists in France, England, the United States and in other Capitalist-democratic countries conducted meetings and street marches at which orally and on placards the chief slogan was: "Help Save Spanish Democracy."

Early in January 1939 the "Communist"-Socialist-Liberal Government suddenly began a totally unexpected, unexplained, very rapid removal of its now immense army on the Catalonian front. *The New York Times* of January 16, 1939 remarked in astonishment: "Military observers were amazed at the speed of the Government troops' withdrawal throughout lower Catalonia virtually without firing a shot . . ." As Franco's army completely unimpeded now, was approaching Tarragona, the families of the recruited men were milling in the streets of the city, utterly bewildered. Only a day before, "the Government reported it was entrenching for a strong stand in the Tarragona sector." (N.Y.T., Jan 15, 1939). But in the city there was no sign of entrenchment. Without even a semblance of a stand, the troops were ordered to leave Tarragona. "Tarragona Falls Without Fighting" read a headline in *The New York Times* next day.

Franco swept in the direction of Barcelona. A great munitions center, a vast city of over 2,000,000, the key to the communications by land, sea and air, the strongest anti-Fascist center in Spain, Barcelona admittedly was the most defensible city on the Peninsula. Dispatches from Spain, not only to the *Times* but to other papers as well told of the formidable battle to come for the possession of Barcelona. Thus, "the Government mobilized Barcelona's entire population for military and civilian defenses, declared martial law, and threw up fortifications in the city for house to house defense . . ." (*New York Post*, Jan. 25, 1939). The hearts of all naive, sincere but simple-minded anti-Fascists in Europe, in the Americas, all over the world, beat fast. The Barcelona battle would be the greatest, the most stirring in the "war between democracy and Fascism." Franco's attempt to take the immense city would be met with a hail of fire. Dispatch after dispatch added weight to that naive view. "The taking of Barcelona will not be an easy matter," the government broadcast. "The population of Barcelona is ready, and the city will be defended inch by inch, street by street, house by house." (N.Y.T., Jan. 26, 1939)

But how deep and penetrating was the shock and horror in the mind of millions of trusting dupes when next day they opened the newspapers and read, "Barcelona taken without a fight." (N.Y.T., Jan. 27, 1939). "Barcelona fell to Franco's encircling troops without a shot being fired within its gates." (N.Y. *Herald Tribune*, Jan 27, 1939)

What happened with all the preparations for defense of the great metropolis of Catalonia? Simply, the Marxist criminals, the "Communists" leaders on the Left and the Socialist leaders on the Right, in cooperation with the Liberal Azana, supervised by the arch-murderer, principal master of intrigue, Stalin, plowed through the population of the "Republic," blurred hopelessly its mental vision,

imposed upon it an iron discipline, and deliberately turned it over to Franco, the tiger of Fascism, for decimation. The carnage instituted by Franco in Barcelona, in the number of victims, in the degree of torture, was the most horrible in the Civil War.

The Marxist and the Capitalist historians "analyze" Franco's extraordinary, monstrous victory as a result of abundance of arms supplied by Hitler and Mussolini. People with childish simplicity accept their superficial explanation. But bits of information during the Civil War appeared in the Capitalist press showing that if the Fascists had an abundance of arms, the People's Front Government had a superabundance. Thus, a few days after the Stalinist-Socialist-Liberal delivery of Barcelona to Franco. *The New York Times* remarked, "victory over the Republicans in Catalonia is held all the more significant because of vast stores of armaments, munitions and food they abandoned in their retreat from Barcelona." (N.Y.T., Jan. 29, 1939)

Not only in Barcelona but in all the subsequently abandoned towns, mountains of war supplies were given to Franco without a struggle. "Franco's recuperation service continues to discover daily more stocks of abandoned war material." (Ib. Feb. 4, 1939). "That the Catalonian army did not lack the wherewithal to fight is indicated by large quantities of arms, including ninety field pieces of artillery, machine guns, trench mortars, anti-tank guns, rifles, revolvers, hand grenades and airplanes that have been surrendered to the French authorities by Loyalist soldiers who have crossed the border." (Ib. Feb. 8, 1939). "At least sixty Loyalist fighting planes today landed at French airports." (N.Y. *World Telegram*, Feb. 6, 1939). Stalin was very generous in supplying "material aid" to mark the sabotage.

The closing acts of the terrible tragedy were performed with amazing rapidity. Briefly, on March 5, 1939 General Miaja suddenly rebelled against the "Republic," ousted the Liberal-Socialist-Stalinist Cabinet, set up a "National Council of Defense" and created utter chaos among the shattered and divided anti-Fascists. On March 28, 1939 Miaja ordered the white flag of surrender raised over Madrid—and vanished from the stage of history. In the afternoon the Fascist soldiers, exhausted by swift marching in pursuit of the rapidly retreating Loyalist forces, hardly trusting their enemies that Madrid, the capital of Spain, was being given to them without a fight, moved in regular formations through the streets of the city. Next day the few remaining provincial capitals followed the Madrid example, and Franco informed the world of total victory. The "war between democracy and Fascism" in Spain was ended.

Over two million workers and peasants, killed in battles, slaughtered in captured towns, in the bull rings, in streets and squares, in private homes was the gruesome, marked by rare cruelty, price

the people of Spain paid for falling into the trap of the Marxist swindler.

The treacherous Stalinist lickspittle, Dolores Ibarruri, and other Stalinist rats escaped to Russia. Stalin put them on his payroll. And in the spirit of "friendship" Stalin, having manipulated the Spanish gold reserve of about a billion dollars worth into Moscow, retained it as a payment for his "material aid."

The epilogue to the ghastly Stalinist crime in Spain was performed by his underlings by organizing as a cover up an international drive to help the half million Spanish refugees who, upon their escape into France, were perishing of cold and disease in Stalinist-Socialist shelter camps.

Even thus Marx, after betraying the Commune, underwent a fantastic transformation from a passive, procrastinating fellow, who put off for weeks the writing of an address on the events in Paris, into a man boiling with energy. The Stalinist book *Karl Marx, Chronology* (R., 293-294) describes: "June-December. Marx unfolds an extremely energetic activity in the task of organizing aid to the refugees of the Commune. Until September he directs the work of the Emigrant Committee, mobilizes his acquaintances and correspondents, secures money and work for the refugees, and passports for the Communards remaining in France."

Years, then decades passed after the Stalin-engineered Franco victory. The American Capitalist democratic Government honored the Fascist dictator at the height of his bloody stage not only by extending to him diplomatic recognition but, later, by making arrangements for building nuclear installations to offset the Russian threat to seize Western Europe. However, outward respect for democracy, pretense of detestation of Fascism, filled the mind of the top politicians of the United States who made the deal with Franco with psychic pains. They would prefer to see Spain becoming a Capitalist democratic country. That transformation would make their policy palatable to the Capitalist democratic "public" at home and abroad.

Slow to surrender his vicious power to a succession in the event of his death, Franco finally chose a monarchist-Fascist, to be disguised as King of Spain, after the demise of the founder of the Spanish terror regime. Franco died, and King Juan Carlos, for a while maintaining the tough, oppressive standards of Fascism, proceeded to introduce Capitalist democracy an inch at a time. Eventually he reached the point of legalizing the "Communist" Party.

Rapidly the leaders of the Party exiled in various countries outside Spain applied for passports to the Spanish Embassies for return to their native land. Among them, in Moscow, Dolores Ibarruri, the Civil War *La Pasionaria*, received the document by which such authorization was given. "A spokesman for the recently reopened

Spanish Embassy in Moscow confirmed that a representative of the 81-year-old Mrs. Ibarruri had picked up passports for her and her secretary, Irene Falcon, this afternoon." (N.Y.T., May 13, 1977)

The old Spanish menial of Stalin was treated well by her master, and after he died by his successors. "She has lived in a choice Moscow neighborhood in a large apartment with her companion, Irene Falcon, and has been chauffeured about in a black limousine normally reserved for upper-echelon Soviet officials." (Ib.) She lived not on the bottom floor of society but in upper levels with the Kremlin bureaucrats.

The next day after receiving the passports she departed for Madrid. "To avoid offending entrenched Francoists in the bureaucracy and the military, the Communist Party reached what one member called 'a gentlemen's agreement' with Prime Minister Suarez not to give *La Pasionaria* a tumultuous welcome in Madrid." (Ib. May 14, 1977)

Thus did Spain's most mesmerizing Stalinist voice in the Civil War begin the last chapter of her criminal political life. How many "Communists" today in Spain, how many workers, know that she had surrounded the honest followers of the treacherous Trotsky, some of the most self-sacrificing anti-Fascists, with slanderous accusations of being agents of Fascism, that she had been one of the chief directors of extermination of the thousands of POUMists? Who remembers today that she supported Stalin's horrible Moscow Trials? Stalin's "friendly" pact with Hitler? Stalin's murder of the Czech and other leaders? Are there voices in Spain, or anywhere else in the world, to point out that she serves the most outrageous political swindle in all history?

At the very first rally, "Speaking with surprising vigor, the 81-year-old *La Pasionaria*, a legendary orator during the war, brought well over 10,000 Communist militants and sympathizers to their feet with a seven minute address in which she firmly supported the Soviet Union." (N.Y.T., May 23, 1977)

Embrasses, kisses, flowers, tears marked her return to the active work of deception and crime at her master's behest in the Kremlin. But there was a discordant moment at the rally. The followers of the treacherous Trotsky, who in April 1923 had conspired with Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev to suppress Lenin's Testament, in which Lenin insisted on Stalin's removal from power, created a disturbance. Knowing nothing about Trotsky's role in delivering thousands of Trotskyites for execution to the Spanish branch of Stalin's secret police, not realizing that she had committed many other heinous crimes, they struck a note of "oppositional" humor: "At one point in Mrs. Ibarruri's somewhat disconnected discourse a small band of Trotskyites chanted from a wing of the hall a suggestion that she be sent to an insane asylum—a moment of black

political humor that was quickly hushed by diligent Communist ushers." (Ib.)

XXIII. THE INTRICATE "SECOND WORLD WAR" DESIGNED TO DESTROY THE RUSSIAN MARXIST STATE

When the Bolshevik traitors to Socialism, on November 7, 1917, swindled the Second Congress of Soviets out of its newly acquired State power, the chief of the conspirators for bureaucratic order, the arch-Marxist Lenin, hopelessly depraved, solemnly lied: "We will now proceed to build the Socialist order."

The Russian masses believed him. Over a hundred million workers and peasants submitted their necks to his yoke and projected his power over most of the former Tsarist Empire.

The major world Capitalist powers, England, France, the United States, Italy and Japan, intervened. With their backing, illustrated by the British spending almost seven billion dollars on weapons and supplies, Russian "Fascist" White Guard armies were organized, troops of these States landed in Russia to cooperate with the Whites. To no avail. The Russian masses, self-sacrificing to an amazing degree, starving and freezing, at one time fighting on fourteen fronts, using weapons mostly captured from the White forces, defeated them all. "Peace" between the Bolshevik usurpers and the Capitalist powers was established.

But underneath this "peace" antagonism between the two forms of society continued, and grew.

After the failure of the intervention and of the strenuous efforts by White Guard generals to destroy the "Communist" power, the international Capitalist leaders decided reluctantly that the Marxist State was here to stay and that they must live with it. But the thought of organizing decisive military action against the expropriators of the Russian Capitalists never evaporated.

The direct obstacle to any plan, causing a long delay in execution of an entirely different form of attack from the one early in Bolshevik power, was complete absence in Europe of a major Capitalist State on the border of Russia. In the Far East was Japan, too weak to undertake the task of advancing a victorious army across Siberia to occupy Moscow. The Soviet Union was safe from attack. It could build its industry and the bureaucracy unmolested.

The ascendancy of Fascism in Germany provided a striking change. If armed, Germany would be a major power almost next door to Russia. Poland lay between the two countries.

The British and the French leaders met Hitler at Munich and arranged a plan to strike at "Communist" Russia.

Germany was to be transformed into a super military power. For

that purpose the entire armament industry on the Continent of Europe had to be made a part of the Nazi war machine. Czechoslovakia, with its huge Skoda works, was turned over to Hitler. The next move was to reach an agreement with Stalin to partition Poland. Stalin never suspected that the move was designed as bait, to place a major military machine on the border with "Communist" Russia, and to create the impression of a virtual partnership of Capitalist Germany with "Communist" Russia, somewhat resembling the original partition of Poland among Russia, Prussia and Austria. Hitler attacked Poland under the cover of a sham declaration of war by his Munich conspirators. Following that declaration something utterly amazing and unexpected occurred on the so-called "Western Front." Not a shell was fired either by the Nazis or the Capitalist-democratic forces. Correspondents, even dictionaries designated the situation as a "Phony War." Thus, *The War Dictionary* by Louise G. Parry gives the definition of the term: "Phony war, a term of derision for the inactivity of the opposing forces in World War II from September 1939 to spring of 1940, particularly on the Western Front in Europe."

This condition prevailed for eight months, then the Nazis spectacularly moved forward. France, almost overnight, became an open supporter of Nazi Germany and the French armaments industry was attached to the German war machine.

On June 21-22, 1941 the Nazi army invaded the "Communist" territory.

While Hitler's tanks smashed their way at a terrific speed eastward toward Leningrad and Moscow, bombarded all the Stalin-held forts on the Baltic, reducing them to rubble, reached Stalingrad on the Volga, captured the Crimea and advanced into the Caucasus, the leaders of the Capitalist democratic States, Roosevelt and Churchill, Stalin's "allies," stubbornly refused to listen to the Kremlin's plea to open a second front in Europe. As a cover for their inactivity against Hitler on the Continent of Europe, the democratic rulers opened a game of war on the African desert along a vast stretch of the Mediterranean. The game was begun on August 6, 1941, about seven weeks after Hitler crashed into Stalin's territory. It consisted of several vigorous advances and retreats by both relatively small forces, covering over six hundred miles of the sea coast either way. The last drive was launched on October 23, 1942. The British pursued the Nazis from El Alamein in Egypt to Tunisia, over a thousand miles. The casualties, as compared with the mountains of corpses in Stalin's Russia, were very small on both sides.

The fantastic war, the kind no imagination could have perceived before, especially such an event of superior construction as the going over of the entire French general staff to the Nazi "enemy," required broad-dimensional deception. One of the outstanding cre-

ations of fraud was the story, widely circulated in the Capitalist world, that most of the fifteen billion dollars in American and British war material aid was received by Stalin. Actually the opposite was true. First of all, the officials of the United States and of the Soviet Union signed the Lend-Lease agreement not during the early period of the invasion, when Stalinist armies, under the shattering blows of the Nazi war machine, were torn to shreds, but after Hitler was halted at Leningrad and Moscow. In the beginning, military supplies were completely withheld from Stalin. And much of that was sunk by the Nazis in Norwegian waters, and some supplies that went through to Murmansk, consisted only of provisions: dry milk, powdered eggs, and above all spam, a mixture of ingredients as a substitute for ham. Stalin distributed among millions of his soldiers not American artillery, not American planes and ammunition, but American spam. John A. Stormer, in his book *None Dare Call it Treason*, is disgusted with the post-“Cold-War” Capitalist obsequious deference and bowing to Moscow. However, he blasts out:

“The Hitler-Stalin pact was shortlived and in 1941 Russia came under Nazi attack. The Kremlin, now an ally, received more than \$11 billion in American aid. It was all supposedly war material to bolster the USSR in the fight against Germany. Actually, Russia received non-military supplies and materials worth billions.” (28)

Another Capitalist writer, Hedrick Smith, produced a work, *The Russians*, which is one of the most splendid exposures of the oppression of the Russian masses by the bureaucratic dictator. A magnificent book! It is, however, marred by a very serious distortion and twisting of facts about the “Second World War.” He tells about his visit to Murmansk and a conversation he held with the woman director of the museum of that town about the lend-lease:

“Out of curiosity, I asked Yelena Pavlova, the enthusiastic museum director, if she had information on the number of Allied convoys or amount of Allied aid that passed through Murmansk. ‘I never bumped into any such figures in all my years here,’ she said. She advised trying the city’s handsome new technical library. There, the director, Vera Petrova, a busty, imposing, administratrix, proudly showed us around the bright, modern building for a couple of hours. After the tour, I inquired about the convoys. Researchers were confidently dispatched. After an hour or so, they returned with one thin volume reporting that in 1942, 93 Soviet ships were engaged in importing goods for the war effort, but nothing about British or American aid. . . . Such awkward exclusion could only have occurred by design, meaning that censors had banned mentioning \$15 billion in American and British aid to the Soviet war effort.

“Indeed, a Soviet journalist and movie director later confirmed

that to me. As a result, they said, most Russians thought of American wartime aid as no more than *tushenka* (canned spam) which they belittled.” (431)

How was it that in his traveling through the Soviet Union and speaking, literally to thousands of Russians, no one remembered an American or British tank or plane in the period when the Nazi panzer divisions were stopped eighteen kilometers from Moscow? But after years and decades passed, and the invasion receded into the pages of history, one person, a professional “Communist” liar and misinterpreter of past and current events, Yuri Zhukov, suddenly “recalled” the war materials received by Stalin from his British and American “allies” in the Russian effort to beat off the invasion:

“The movie director considered it practically a revolutionary development that in 1973 (!!!—G.S.) Yuri Zhukov, the *Pravda* commentator had mentioned on TV that American aid had actually included planes, tanks, jeeps, spare parts, and other vital equipment. ‘That is the first time in many years that our people have heard such things about your lend-lease,’ he said. I never heard the program repeated.” (Ib.)

That was the first time in thirty-two years, and probably never again, that the Russian veterans heard, from an old Stalinist deliverer, that they had fought with arms supplied by lend-lease. But they remembered spam.

Smith, on the numerous problems facing the Soviet masses in their wretched life under the bureaucratic order, trusted them, sympathized with them, and had no doubts about their sincerity, but on lend-lease he accepted a comment of “Zhukov, a man in his mid-sixties, with two comfortable dachas, a large in-town apartment and chauffeured car” as a fountain of rectification of past errors: “In fairness, at a time when Soviet-American trade relations appeared to be blossoming, Zhukov once sought to correct a widespread Soviet impression that American lend-lease in World War II consisted only of canned spam. . . .” (394)

The democratic Capitalists did not lift a finger to help Capitalist Poland being crushed by the Nazis, and when Stalin attacked Finland they did not transport even one planeload of war material to that little Capitalist country, but to “Communist” Russia. Smith says, “We were pumping in billions of dollars of lend-lease through Murmansk, and the Russian retort was that American aid was negligibly—*tushenka*.” (432)

The savage resistance by Stalin’s forces, his original armies having been shattered and new ones constantly coming up on the front several thousand miles long, by the active opposition on the part of the civilian population, to the most stupendous invasion in all history, vastly beyond the dimensions of the Napoleonic intrusion

along one, narrow, Smolensk Road, resulted in a spectacular, also the most stupendous in history, unexpected by the Munich conspirators, and for a while even by Stalin himself, Russian victory. At the height of the Nazi military success, shaken as never before, Stalin told his close officials, "The heritage of Lenin is being demolished." Despite the terrible loss of life—about thirty million of the Soviet population—soldiers and civilians; compared with about seventy thousand Russians in the Napoleonic adventure — the masses beamed an amazingly magnetic energy and determination not only on the numerous battlefields but also in the armament-producing shops and factories.

Indeed, the grim and colossal victory which Stalin's armies achieved over the most ferocious invasion on record, splintering into fragments Hitler's panzer divisions, their tanks and artillery, was accomplished not alone through the inflamed anti-Nazi spirit of the Russian masses but by compounding it with the steady introduction of new weapons, superior to Hitler's.

One of the greatest deceptions imposed upon the Russian masses toward the end and after defeating the Nazi invasion was the story that the stupendous victory was achieved because the struggle was supervised by "the greatest genius in military history, our dearest, most beloved Comrade Stalin." In actuality Stalin was as idiotic in military science as he was in diplomacy. He impertinently meddled in the defense plans of his generals, in the work of his scientists and weapons designers, always applying his vicious temper and brutal power to mass arrests and numerous executions of innocent officers and men. Stalin was a consistent impediment to victory.

The tremendous victory was won not by the officially intrusive dictator but by the Russian masses, by the soldiers and officers, by the scientists, and, it must be noted, by an important human element, the working women. Many women surpassed men in various fields. Women tended millions of wounded soldiers. Women joined the armed forces and fought the Nazis. Stalin's General-Major G. P. Romanov wrote: "The instructive examples of immortal instances of military valor of Leningrad women are difficult to overestimate." (*Komsomolskaia Pravda*, July 1, 1943) Stalin himself appealed to the women: "Women and girls! Master completely the art of military specialists! Disrupt the movement of enemy troops, the trains with arms and munitions, set on fire the enemy's munition dumps. Incessantly master military science." (Ib. March 5, 1943)

A secretary of a collective farm, watching the marching women, talked to one of the girls: "All hopes rest upon you, the women," he said, shaking her hand in parting." (Ib. Jan. 27, 1943)

To the deception that Stalin personally was instrumental in defeating the Fascist invasion was added the lie, widespread abroad, that he accomplished the immense triumph in "alliance" with Chur-

hill and Roosevelt. Research shows that the bureaucrats suspected what really had taken place: "However, the German Fascist command, having mobilized the economic resources of Germany and the Nazi-occupied countries, and utilizing the absence of the second front in Europe, transported to the Soviet-German Front about 60 new divisions. The USSR factually battled single-handedly against Germany and her allies." (*Bolshai Sovetskaiia Encyclopedia*, 2 Ed. L, 236)

Although the Munich planners expected a frantic mass resistance in the Soviet Union, they figured it would be crushed under the wheels of Hitler's excellent war machine. But something more than the mass anti-Nazi spirit developed in the course of the invasion, which no one in the world could have foreseen. While Stalin, after being panic-stricken for many days, was slowly recovering from the shock, his scientists, engineers and technicians were brimming with vigor in the attempt to repair the damage, now a gigantic tragedy, the diplomatically idiotic Stalin had inflicted on the Russian people. Shops and factories were being rapidly evacuated to the east, to the Urals. Ammunition works doubled, then quadrupled their output. And the designers exhibited an extraordinary ingenuity at their drawing desks in producing new and vastly more powerful models of weapons, far superior to the Nazi equipment. This is the explanation of the mystifying circumstance why Hitler could not stop the Russian advance toward Berlin.

The Russian tank "Suvorov," produced in tens of thousands, wrought consternation among the panzer divisions; the fantastic gun "Katusha" created havoc among Nazi troops, driving them back in panic and disorder before Stalin's advancing avalanche. Whereas the Nazi army was unable to take Leningrad and was forced to lay siege to it for two and a half years, and was driven off, the Russians crashed into Berlin, a great fortress, and in a few days reduced that city to smoking ruins with their superior artillery.

The Stalinist bureaucracy also achieved a very decisive superiority in weaponry in the realm of planes. Few people in the Capitalist countries knew or ever heard of the terrible flying tank, the "Stormovik," introduced by one of the greatest plane designers, Sergei Ilyushin. This complex machine sowed bewildering terror in the Nazi ranks. When Ilyushin died, *The New York Times* wrote about this plane: "The Russians called it the 'flying tank' but to the German soldiers and tank crews fighting inside the Soviet Union in World War II, the dive bomber that was thrown against them became simply the 'black death.' So great was the success of the heavily armored plane—officially designated the II-2 and widely known as *stormovik*, or dive bomber—that it established the designer, Sergei Vladimirovich Ilyushin, as one of the most famous names in Soviet aviation." (N.Y.T., Feb. 11, 1977)

Nothing in the Capitalist world could match the Stormer, in Russian, *Stormovik*. "Capt. Eddi Rickenbacker, reportedly the first American to examine it, called it 'a whale of a plane!'"

"We haven't got anything like it," he said. "It's the best plane for its purpose in the world." (Ib.)

The Russian plants, working day and night, produced this anti-Nazi terror in considerable quantity. (36,000—*N.Y.T.*, Ib.)

Needless to argue, Stalin did not depend upon the "aid" his Capitalist democratic "allies" sent to him through Murmansk, a city which was wrecked, its harbor facilities destroyed by Nazi air raids. Later after the Nazi mainspring of the invasion in the greatest armored battle in history, at Kursk, was broken, the Russians received certain weapons by way of the Persian gulf. The Russian artillery, tanks and planes were a thousand to one finally secured through lend-lease.

As an objective-minded historian, Smith manifests curiously definite traces of disregarding, or misreading, the self-revealing Phony War, the passing of France into the Nazi camp, the whole combination of subtle moves that led to the immense invasion, and put together with all that, the evasive tactics of Stalin's Capitalist democratic "allies" in delaying a landing on the continent, not to force Hitler to divest, even for a show, a portion of his army from the war area in Russia. Smith writes:

"I found myself besieged with the argument that the West had deliberately delayed the Normandy invasion to allow the Nazis to concentrate their force against the Russians. This is widely regarded by Russians as a purposeful act of betrayal. Many quote Stalin on this point though they steadily ignore that Stalin's own pact with Hitler from 1939 to 1941 allowed the Germans to concentrate all their force against the British in the early war years without the distraction of a second front on the East." (*The Russians*, 432)

As a supposedly level-headed historian, Smith knew that from September 1, 1939, the date Hitler struck at Poland, and for many weeks after dividing it with Stalin, the chief concentration of the Nazi army was not in the West, where there was no fighting at all, but in the East, in Poland. By Spring 1940 the Nazi armed concentration was reversed, and a large number of mechanized units were massed facing the superbly equipped armies of the French and British. Only the occasion was not, as popularly believed, to be for forthcoming savage fighting, as Smith makes it appear, but for Hitler's peaceful takeover of Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg—and above all, of nearly two thirds of France, including Paris. The most spectacular British operation in that period was the evacuation staged at Dunkirk. Smith no doubt knows about the artificial nature of this self-inflicted, panicky hastening away from

France of the British army which left to Hitler, never used, reportedly enough guns and munitions to equip forty Nazi divisions, for use the next year in the invasion of Russia. As to the entire heavy equipment of the French army, hardly any information leaked out in the Capitalist or Marxist press. Naturally, taken over by Hitler, that too was added to the armament structure of the Nazi war machine.

Whether Smith knows it or not, the "Second World War" was a stupendous Capitalist fraud, in which all Marxist parties, groups and individuals participated. The Socialists gave it credence on the general principle of support to Capitalism. The Trotskyites worked closely with the Socialists. To the diplomatically-myopic Stalin, in full control of all the "Communist" organizations on earth, the yielding attitude of the big Capitalist democracies in allowing Hitler to tear up the treaty of Versailles, rearm Germany, occupy Austria, seize Czechoslovakia probably posed somewhat of a mystery. But the obsession for greater and greater personal power, first inside the Soviet Union, and later, with Hitler's prop, on the geographic plane, blinded him. He took the verbal small skirmishing between the Fascists and the Capitalist democracies seriously. And since Stalin not merely concurred in the robbery of Poland but actively participated in the crime, he could have expected a French-British declaration of war against himself or theirs against Hitler. But he evidently relied on the protection by the Nazi army facing the Capitalist democratic forces. This comfortable feeling, no doubt, pushed him to attack Finland. The French and British rulers officially maintained peace with Stalin not only during his arrogant participation in dividing Poland with Hitler but in his diplomatic aggression against Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and war against Finland.

How was Stalin to presuppose that all the moves by the democratic and the Fascist powers represented a skillfully worked out scheme to write off the first Marxist State, and Marxism itself, from the memory of the human species! His head, not too clear as regards the international situation, became completely out of balance under the narcotic offer by Hitler to partition Poland.

Then suddenly came the denouement, a catastrophe he had never believed possible. A crashing, tearing, overpowering mass of artillery, tanks, planes, moving at a spectacular speed, shattered his defenses and rushed on and on, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, eastward. At first horrified, nearly paralyzed, Stalin slowly recovered his senses. Harking back, he could now go over in his mind all the principal moves the Capitalist democracies and the Nazis had made in recent years. He not only realized that Hitler's "friendship" for him had been a snare but that something dubious was about the "war" between Hitler and the Capitalist democracies.

Compelled by his pre-invasion position that the "war" among the Capitalist powers was real, Stalin of course understood that his new "friends," Churchill and Roosevelt, acted strangely, to say the least. Pressing them for opening the second front, and meeting evasion, Stalin was compelled to settle for thousands of pounds of spam.

XXIV. THE MAJOR CAPITALIST POWERS ABANDON THE "IRON CURTAIN" PLAN; ADOPT A LINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

The totally unexpected collapse of the Fascist-Democratic Munich conspiracy, Stalin's return into Poland by the force of his irresistible arms, his powerful drive toward Berlin, had to be dealt with by the official leaders of world Capitalism, Churchill and Roosevelt. Since Hitler, supposedly, had been the supreme aggressor, the ideological paraphernalia of the "Second World War" had been built on the pretense by the big Capitalist powers of attempting to stop him in his tracks, but in actuality facilitating his attack upon Bolshevik Russia with an immense force. When Hitler failed to perform the service, the policymakers of the big Capitalist States decided to shift the role of super aggressor from Hitler to Stalin. In February 1945 Churchill and Roosevelt met with Stalin at Yalta. There they acted in the friendliest fashion toward that vicious oppressor and mass murderer. As the Nazis, who had made "friendship" pacts with Stalin, partitioned Poland with him, the leaders of Capitalist democracies were not concerned with principles but with the problem to crack the extremely tough Marxist nut. Churchill and Roosevelt agreed to turn over to Stalin not half but the entire Poland, and without a word of dispute arranged that he occupy and control East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Yugoslavia, a portion of Finland, and Albania. They could have very easily with their two gigantic navies occupy the Baltic States before Stalin reached that part of Eastern Europe, enter the Black Sea and take over Rumania, and Bulgaria, and in the Adriatic Yugoslavia and Albania, and they could have pressed Stalin to recognize the Polish Government in exile in London. But they didn't. No logical explanation for the cheerful promptitude with which Churchill and Roosevelt gave Stalin half of Europe appeared in either Capitalist or Marxist press.

Thus the image of a new monstrous aggressor, like Hitler, an unscrupulous grabber of small countries, a body-snatcher, a threat to the "peace-loving" world, was drawn up at Yalta.

With the coast completely cleared for him by Churchill and Roosevelt, the Marxist soul-strangling despot advanced into these lands, and established in them governments under his sway. A

little over a year later Churchill shook the Capitalist world by delivering his famous "iron-curtain" speech at Fulton, indicating the necessity to rescue the captive nations from Stalin's clutches.

As a side point, the new plan to destroy the Russian Marxist State was indelibly tainted with treachery on the part of the big financial and industrial magnates of the leading Capitalist powers toward the manufacturers, merchants and landlords of minor Capitalist countries. Victims of the contest between the two main social systems in the contemporary world, Capitalism and Marxism, had been the Czechoslovakian, or even a better example, the Polish Capitalists and landlords who, six years before, at the start of the "Second World War," instead of getting assistance, were stabbed in the back with a Phony War. Now these Polish Capitalists and landlords, emerging from Hitler's prisons, were turned over by Churchill and Roosevelt to Stalin for final destruction. Their frantic cries for help were flouted. Their skeleton government in exile in London persisted in obscurity, Churchill and Roosevelt agreed to recognize Stalin's "Lublin Committee" as the legitimate government of Poland. In Yugoslavia during the Nazi occupation there operated two distinct underground groups of partisans, one the Chetniks composed of native pro-Capitalist elements headed by Mihailovich, and the "Communists," favored by workers and peasants led by Tito, then a Stalinist flunkey. When the Nazi edifice of power was shattered in Yugoslavia by Stalin's advancing forces, the Moscow dictator put Tito in control of the country. Mihailovich found refuge in the domain of the big Capitalist powers. Creating a carefree comfort for the mighty Stalin, the "Conqueror" of Nazi Germany, now more powerful than any potentate that ever walked on this planet, the Capitalist democracies handed over to Tito his chief rival in the partisan movement. Tito promptly had Mihailovich shot. In the matter of sacrificing human life for a cause not honorable and sometimes criminal, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Hitler, Churchill, Roosevelt, or Napoleon, performed without a feeling of guilt or the least care for the victims. The Pearl Harbor affair, of high craftsmanship in crime, in which three thousand American sailors lost their lives, but through which the United States was brought into the theatre of war in a fraction of an hour, so to speak, is yet to be thoroughly investigated. Who was really responsible for that mass murder? Napoleon, famous for the care and attention he gave to his men, when the French fleet was defeated by Nelson in the Battle of the Nile (1798), faced the task of returning to France from Egypt. He was encumbered by ten thousand war prisoners. One of his generals asked whether the captive soldiers should be let go to their native villages. Napoleon replied: "Shoot them." The Biblical King David sent Uriah, a captain in the army of Israel, into the most dangerous

sector of the battle, thus murdering him, to get his wife, Bathsheba—so the story goes. If true, King David was a conniving, perfectly callous criminal.

In reversing their officially "friendly" position on Stalin, the Capitalist democratic master builders and supervisors of the "Second World War" faced a problem. During the Nazi invasion of the Marxist State they and Stalin pretended to be "allies." Accordingly, they rendered, as the Nazis had done in the days of the Hitler-Stalin "friendship," great respect to Stalin, fascinated their masses by applauding Russian spectacular victories, glorified the besieged Leningrad, spoke with admiration regarding the savage resistance the Russian soldiers put up in Stalingrad, and shut everybody's eyes to the grim and vicious bestialities of Stalin's internal order. It would take several years, perhaps five or six, maybe ten, to make a complete reversal of mass feelings toward the Russians. The masses had to forget that "we were allies against Hitler," eradicate the deep sympathy for the appalling suffering of the Russians during the invasion, begin to think of Moscow with unbridled hostility. Then, and only then Churchill and the other guides of Capitalism could transform the "Cold War" into a hot one. This time, the calculation was, victory of Capitalism was assured because the war would be a "Hiroshima" terror. A few dozen atomic bombs dropped upon the main centers of the Soviet Union would assure complete victory of Capitalism over Marxism.

After Churchill in his "iron-curtain" speech at Fulton opened a new chapter of undisguised antagonism between Capitalism and Marxism, the Capitalist press, the journals, the radio launched a furious "Cold War" drive against "Communist" Russia. The ideological offensive was steadily gaining momentum and was reaching a high pitch.

About three years after the Fulton address, suddenly a shocking surprise gripped the whole Capitalist world. President Truman received information that *Stalin exploded an atomic bomb!* To their great discomfort the top political pilots of American Capitalism, in hot sweat, realized two things. The United States monopoly of atomic energy was broken, and not by a Capitalist State but by an implacable foe, a sly antagonist that pretended friendship but, as the Capitalist leadership, was resolved to travel the whole length of treachery to undermine the opponent social system. But more. The Capitalist directors of policy sharply awakened to the fact that Stalin, through terrible experience, was no longer the stupid ass at the diplomatic chess board as when he, rubbing his hands in delight, relatively weakly armed as compared with Nazi Germany, grabbed half of Poland given him by Hitler. Quite obviously, Stalin did not trust his Capitalist democratic "allies." Having revitalized his war machine to triple the strength of the Nazi armed forces,

he now reached the summit of the achievement. The consternation among the leaders of Capitalism was very great. They assessed the new situation. The transformation of the "Cold War" into a hot war with Stalin implied no other than an *atomic war!* Stalin not only possessed the atomic bomb but the means of delivering it over the United States. Even ten years earlier, before the Nazi invasion, Stalin's Central Design Bureau had produced "the Ts KB-30, which made a 5,000-mile flight across the North Pole to North America in 1939." (N.Y.T., Feb. 11, 1977)

The British and the American Capitalist policymakers took the first explosion of an atomic weapon in Marxist Russia as a warning bell. The task to transform the view of the masses who regarded Russia as an "ally," and not just an ally but the participant that suffered a thousand times more heavily than they did, was a huge enough task. But to get the Americans and the British masses to enter an *atomic war*, and risk destruction of New York and London, especially so soon after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was out of the question.

The "iron curtain" plan with the accompanying "Cold War" had to be discarded. The tireless seekers of the key to the destruction of the Russian Marxist State decided to avoid wild, unrealistic, risking situations containing even a shadow of uncertainty. Such had been the intervention to suppress the Bolshevik Revolution, a naive gamble, and even worse, the "Second World War" in which they lost half of Europe to Marxism. The masses in the Capitalist countries remained under the hypnotic delusion that the United States and England won this contest against Hitler. Even the intellectual stratum of Capitalist society shared this view. Thus, a psychiatrist wrote to the Editor of *The New York Times*: "We have been fortunate during this century in having avoided defeat in two world wars." (N.Y.T., April 10, 1977). The top pilots of Capitalism, lugubriously perusing the map of Poland, East Germany, the Finnish Fort Uno, taken by Stalin, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia—all given to Stalin by Churchill and Roosevelt in the construction of the "Iron Curtain," also, little doubt, the editors of the *Times*, know better.

The deception that the Capitalist democracies came out victorious in the "Second World War" hangs like a dark cloud over the people of the United States and other countries:

"The victory of the Allies in World War II seemed to prove that Western democracies could achieve positive results for their world; Vietnam demonstrated the reverse." (Peter Stansky, historian and biographer, *N.Y.T. Book Review*, June 5, 1977)

As a matter of simple arithmetic the "positive" outcome of "World War II," under the mask of victory, has been a thousand

times more disastrous for the Capitalist democratic powers, in plain words, for Capitalism, than Vietnam. If one chooses to underscore the negative results for Capitalism, the loss of Poland to the Russian Marxist-Leninists, or of East Germany, or even of half of Berlin is an incomparably greater defeat for the United States than the loss of South Vietnam, where the American policy of spending hundred and fifty billion dollars for war material was rather to keep it open as a great munitions market than to plan a victory over Hanoi.

However, many people feel that the supposed victory the United States and England won over Hitler did not produce victorious conclusions. In *The New York Times Book Review* of June 12, 1977, Anthony Howard, reviewing the work *Shattered Peace* by Daniel Yurin, says:

"After all, it was as late as February 1945 that Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill met together at the Black Sea resort of Yalta (in the Czar's former summer palace) and, with every appearance of amity, planned the new postwar international order. Only a year later, in Fulton, Mo., Churchill himself was to deliver his famous 'Iron Curtain' speech accusing the Russians of being dedicated only 'to the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines' and warning of a 'growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization.' What had gone wrong?"

Howard, of course, did not go into an explanation that the Fascists, while playing friendship with the Moscow dictator, and the Capitalist democratic rulers, organized the "Munich" plot to destroy the Russian Marxist State. He did not show that to fight a big fire superior equipment is required, and the Russians to overcome the greatest invasion fire in history overwhelmed the Fascist-Capitalist democratic conspiracy by means of introducing superior weapons. Nor did he point out that the Capitalist democratic guides, again, as Hitler, while playing friendship with Stalin, substituted the "Iron Curtain" plan for "Munich," and abandoned it when they discovered that Stalin possessed the atomic bomb as well as the planes to deliver it over American targets.

Finally, Howard fell upon the popular explanation for the Yalta policy of the Churchill-Roosevelt leadership:

"What had gone wrong? The original answer—and one that is still fairly weightily endorsed—had it that at Yalta (and, indeed, a year earlier at Teheran) Roosevelt and Churchill simply allowed themselves to be lulled into a sense of false security by Stalin: that there was never really any doubt about Soviet designs and that only a self-deluding desire on their part to see Stalin as 'good old Uncle Joe' blinded them to what was to come. (Ib.)

Just such oversimplified commentary was concocted on Chamberlain's performance at the secret conference with Hitler at Munich.

That concealed the plot, later positively accounted for, of delivering Czechoslovakia to the Nazis, division of Poland between Hitler and Stalin, the Phony War, and the going over of France into the Hitler camp. What Howard says conceals the "Iron Curtain" gamble.

In point of fact, the big Capitalist democracies, as guardians of Capitalism, emerged as gamblers in their reaction to the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia. During the Civil War there they gambled on the Tsarist White Guard generals, Denikin, Wrangel, Yudenich, admiral Kolchak, to whom the leading Capitalist rulers did not hesitate to grant the high status of being heads of governments of parts of Russia, and they lost. Later, under the able direction of the British statesmen they gambled on Hitler, and they lost. Eventually they gambled on the "Iron Curtain," and again they lost.

The true victors and conquerors in the "Second World War" were the Stalinist bureaucrats, saved by the blood of thirty million workers and peasants, by the Soviet scientists and engineers, by the women who bore the brunt of suffering under the Nazi horrible occupation.

Castigating the "Iron Curtain" plan aside, the individual and the collective financial and political executives of Capitalism announced a new policy toward Soviet Russia. They were seeking peaceful co-existence. This was a unique turn, a far cry from the established attitude of semi-hostility which was tearing apart the two social systems, except for the period of the Nazi invasion when a beautiful "friendship" was displayed by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. The Russian Marxists under Stalin, and later the inheritors of Stalin's boots, prisons and a strong military contrivance, welcomed with open arms the generous, seemingly sincere change.

But are the Russian Marxist leaders, despite the expanding trade relations, friendly cultural exchanges, a special kind of cooperation in space research, willing to coexist peacefully with Capitalism? Would they be satisfied controlling a quarter of the globe? A half? Would they be willing to seize three quarters of the surface of the planet and let Capitalism have the fourth? What is their mentality? Are they to fall into the footsteps of the ineptitude of Stalin, or, on the contrary, are relying heavily, primarily, on military, naval, and above all nuclear expansion? Are they still the second power, or are they as strong as the United States, or, secretly, have already surpassed Capitalism in constructing a mighty war machine?

In a quarter of a century, after the unprecedented in dimension and horribleness victory over the mighty Nazi army, the Russian Marxist State rose out of the flames and cinders to become a superpower. Its pace of expansion has been fantastic. By comparison, it has taken the United States many decades to reach the

present high level of development. Both the United States and Marxist Russia had civil wars. But Russia only a generation ago suffered an invasion which, of blood and devastation, was unequalled in history. The enraged invaders laid waste to about eighty thousand towns, blasted large centers into rubble and dust, transformed the country into a vast cemetery, and yet, today, there stands a rebuilt Russia, equal in many branches of economy with the greatest Capitalist power on earth, and is driving ahead, full speed, unrestrainedly, to outstrip it and become a foreseeable future a super-superpower, an enormous giant of great strength towering over the world.

The leaders of Capitalism are bewildered. They are badly shaken. There has not been a lucid moment in their anti-Marxist policy since Lenin and his clique in 1917 wheedled the power from the Second Congress of Soviets and established their unprincipled, cruel, oppressive but intrinsically stronger industrial system than Capitalism. The moulders of Capitalist policy are tormented not only by the unwelcome sight of the steadily growing Russian power but also by the fact that in their own countries there is a Marxist movement, in France and Italy the "Communist" leaders are inching to enter the ruling Capitalist bodies.

XXV. THE REAL POWER IN AMERICAN CAPITALISM

A person with even rudimentary power of analysis will realize that were it not for the United States, the ramshackle structure of Capitalism in Europe and elsewhere would have long ago fallen and been replaced with a Marxist dictatorship, as no surprise to anyone. But this life-sustaining Capitalist organism today is not operated by a conglomerate of financial magnates and industrial tycoons of the steel, automobile, rubber, oil, tobacco, sugar, cotton and other branches of subordinate economy. They exercise a limited power in the United States and in the Capitalist world. Who, then, what sector of the Capitalist class lays down the domestic and foreign policy? The President and the Congress? They are the political executives of that sector. Is it the bankers of dollar diplomacy promoting abroad the financial and commercial interests of the United States? Nobody at the crest of the pyramid of power today is interested in such old, obsolete pursuits.

There is a small knot of men who combine in their persons the directors of top finance and the owners of the industries manufacturing *armaments*. These big producers and dealers in the instruments of mass death, standing at the topmost peak of the American economic fabric, outweigh in importance all the rest of the private owners of Capitalist enterprises. They are working very closely with the officials of the State, advising them on domestic and for-

ign policy. Their associations with the government bureaucrats, some of whom are heavy investors in the production of war equipment themselves, is not only political but even social. But their conning with generals, and other officers, was too embarrassing for the Defense Department: "The Defense Department announced today that 38 Pentagon civilian officials and officers including 9 admirals and 17 Air Force generals, had been admonished for accepting entertainment at a Maryland hunting lodge maintained by Northrop Corporation, a major defense contractor." (N.Y.T., Jan. 24, 1976)

Indeed, "socializing" on a very high level has been going on in the White House during Ford's presidency between the arms manufacturers and the topmost leaders of the State: "In the first years as President, Gerald R. Ford entertained at the White House the leading executives of 23 large corporations involved in arms production." (Ib. Oct. 20, 1975)

Among the very close friends of President Ford were considered several biggest producers and merchants of mass death "The President numbers among his personal friends such prominent lobbyists for arms builders as Rodney W. Markley Jr. of the Ford Motor Company, William G. Whyte of the United States Steel Corporation and Kimberley C. Hallamore of Lear Siegler Inc., whose collective products range from rifles to guided missiles." (Ib.)

Not only the arms manufacturers alone have been lavishly and quite privately entertained by the respected personalities of American Capitalist society but, as honored guests, also the prime buyers of arms: "During a state dinner for the Shah of Iran in May the guests included Henry Ford 2d, Chairman of the Ford Motor Company; Robert H. Malott, Chairman of the FMC Corporation, and David S. Lewis, Chairman of the General Dynamics Corporation. The three companies are major munition makers and Iran has become the primary purchaser of American-made arms, placing almost \$10 billion worth of orders in the United States since 1970." (Ib.)

The expansion of production of armaments in the United States, not only for the American Government but for sale to foreign governments on a world scale has been phenomenal. From a side branch of economy up until the early part of the Twentieth Century it has grown to become, to the unpleasant surprise of the naive pacifists and the grumbling of the Liberals, and the accompanied moans of the hypocrites, the mainspring of the United States economy. While there is unemployment in every industry, even among firemen and policemen, there is no unemployment in the armament industry. The men heading the production of arms possess colossal power. They have the unique capacity to change governments in Latin America and some other parts of the turbulent Capitalist world, with the lasting result of the suppression of Capi-

talist democracy. A sign of the times is the transformation of the ruling political strata in Chile. The brigands of the Chilean military caste, who murdered thousands of Liberals and victims of the Marxist swindlers, are backed by munitions manufacturers of the United States. Moreover, the overseas military dictators in several Capitalist parts of the world have been looked upon with an approving eye by many high officials of the United States democratic Government: "In Asia, Africa and Latin America military dictatorships have power and keep power with munitions sold, lent and given away with the endorsement—indeed even the enthusiastic approval—of the last six Presidents and 16 Congresses." (N.Y.T., Oct. 19, 1975)

The phrase "lent and given away" refers to the action by the Government of the United States of *giving away* to various bandits of power in the large setting of Capitalist military dictatorships, guns, planes, tanks and other war equipment. Upon each gun and shell, theoretically, invisibly, the iron stamp of history brands a greeting: A gift. May you, operating this instrument of death and terror, successfully oppress, suppress and exploit your people, particularly the working class. Our sympathy is with you. Signed, "six Presidents and 16 Congresses."

The Marxist bandits of power in the Soviet Union, having caught up with the United States in the production of steel, oil, in the naval and air force structures, and above all in nuclear murder weapons, are gradually catching up in the selling of mass death arms on a global scale, far ahead of England and France.

Beginning to be visible is the direction the very success in the armament sales is taking the American munitions makers. A dispatch from Tel Aviv carries this piece of information: "Labor and defense-plant facilities released by the cutbacks have been shifted to the production of export items, and some weapons, including jet fighters, previously manufactured exclusively for the Israeli forces, are now being offered abroad . . . Total Israeli exports of military equipment last year rose to nearly \$190 million from \$90 million the year before, but half the proceeds went to the United States for materials and parts. American interests were partners in some exporting plants." (N.Y.T., Jan. 12, 1976)

This is not the first time that Zionist leaders staggered into mud. Sometime before the "Second World War" they struck up trade deals with the Hitler regime: "George Halperin, well-known Zionist leader and a director of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, conducted the negotiations with the Nazi Land Trade League for the purchase of German goods by Palestinians in exchange for the opening of the German market to Palestinian citrus products . . . the announcement of the negotiations between the Palestine orange growers and the Nazi representatives aroused a storm of protest at

the World Zionist Congress . . ." (*Jewish Daily Bulletin*, Sept. 3, 1933)

In August 1935 at the Lucerne Zionist Congress, Ben Gurion and other high leaders of Zionism were characterized by the lower stratum of that movement as tools of the Nazi Government, in plain words as "Hitler's agents." Most of the big Capitalist press maintained silence, but some papers reported the crisis in Zionism: "The Congress was thrown into an uproar when the delegates of the Jewish State Party walked out of the Congress hall shouting 'Hitler agents' . . . (American Hebrew and Jewish Tribune, Sep. 6, 1935, 273)

The facts are, some of the chief directors of Zionism sold the European Jews and gave criminal support to the worst anti-Semites in Jewish history for a few pieces of machinery in exchange for oranges. "The Congress met in the midst of the gravest crisis which has overtaken Jewry since the Spanish expulsion. Even while the Congress was in session, Jews in Germany were being hunted like wild beasts, beaten and kicked like dogs, driven from public places, segregated in ghettos, boycotted, persecuted and humiliated as they have never been since the Dark Ages . . ." (W. Zuckerman, *Ib.* Sep. 27, 1935, 324)

In this era of the armament market morality is not under consideration by both the sellers and the buyers of arms. The leaders of Israel, as participants in the nefarious trade, are no exception. Thus, there are black people in the world, whose history is almost as tragic as that of the Jews. At one time, in recent past, they were devoted friends of the Jewish people, of Israel, but no longer. Apart from being influenced by the anti-Semitic Marxist Russia, the blacks discontinued their affinity with the most hounded and persecuted national group of the human species because of the disregard by the Israeli leaders of the oppression of the black race in Africa through support to the white oppressors. A dispatch from Tel Aviv reports: "Israel is building two long-range gun-boats armed with ~~sea~~-to-sea Gabriel missiles for the South African navy, according to reports . . . and in return will receive steel and coal." (N.Y. Post, Aug. 9, 1976). How much doubt can there be that the building of these naval vessels is carried out with some form of participation by American capital which does not want to be exposed of constructing gun boats for a white supremacy government?

Due to the immense volume of its pernicious activity, the American war industry, in its ramifications and diversity of operations, is well beyond the detailed knowledge of the average viewer of American economy. Contrary to the popular misconception the United States economic fabric is becoming unmistakably an armament entity. The majority of American manufacturers mechanically gravitate toward the strongest branch of industry, the division

producing war equipment, and, without coming into full view, influencing the country's domestic and foreign policies. On October 21, 1975 *The New York Times* began printing a series of articles which laid bare certain aspects of the transformation in American economy and gave an incling as to the present center of gravity in the exercise of power. The author of the articles, Richard D. Lyons, recorded the expansion of the industrial and commercial armament houses of dishonor: "Making and selling munitions to foreign armies is so lucrative that more than 1,000 American companies are legally engaged in either producing or exporting weapons." Lyons indicated the source of his information—the State Department: "The Federal registration certificates of these companies, which were made public for the first time by the State Department's office of Munitions Control at the request of *The New York Times* . . . The materials turned over by the State Department, more than 2,000 copies of documents weighing some 25 pounds, filled a large cardboard box."

Opening this, generally unknown before, and little known today, Pandora's box of horrors, Lyons shockingly reveals some of the names of these producers and merchants of mass death weapons. He lists "companies not identified in public mind as arms-makers," such as the Singer Company, known the world over as makers of sewing machines, the Bulova Watch Company, the Ford Motor Company, the General Motors Corporation, Chrysler, "The Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco)—owned 60 per cent by Saudi Arabia and 40 per cent by the Exxon Corporation, Texaco, Inc., the Standard Oil Company and the Mobil Oil Corporation." A firm producing canning jars, among the companies that originally never had a perspective of making arms, "reported that its Ball Brothers Research Corporation of Boulder, Colo., manufactures aerospace drive assemblies, pointing controls and space lubrication." Most astounding in this dark and ultimately bloody business "The academic world is also represented. The Calspan Corporation, which gives its address as P.O. Box 235, Buffalo, N.Y. 14221, lists its present or holding company as Cornell University. . . . Another college-related registrant is the Syracuse University Research Corporation, founded in 1957. The company reported exporting a wide variety of munitions list items for aircraft and spacecraft, including 'classified articles.' "

In his down-to-earth investigation Lyons mentions, of course, E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Co. and other giant corporations, standing largely in the shadows.

Two days after the appearance of Lyons' article, in an editorial, *The New York Times* supplied additional information regarding the munitions lobby: "Other components of the lobby include trade unions, protecting jobs in the arms industry; top legal talent in

Washington, including former Cabinet members and Presidential advisers; scores of former Senators and Congressmen employed by the major arms makers as their law firms, and more than a 1,000 former Pentagon officials, civilian and military, now working directly for arms manufacturers or serving them as 'consultants.' At home and abroad, arms pushers have mixed normal commercial methods and hard sell with extra-legal inducements ranging from lavish entertainment and free vacations to outright bribes totalling millions of dollars."

When the United States, as the leading exporter of arms in the world, is pouring out weapons across all the oceans, except perhaps in the regions of the Arctic and the Antarctic, but definitely not to the Soviet Union, which, besides exporting vodka and caviar, is the second major merchant of mass death weapons, it, together with the Soviet Union, are feeding several arms races. *The New York Times* of October 23, 1975 tells of "the huge shipments of military equipment to both sides in arms races in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and Latin America. But attempts to restrain this vast enterprise now encounter enormous resistance from a powerful munitions lobby."

In reality, the armament industry, which the editors of the *Times* denominate as "a powerful munitions lobby" is laying down the policy of making and selling arms, meeting no resistance in substance in any portion of society. The rest of the Capitalists, the officials of the State, follow along on the path charted by the manufacturers and merchants of the weapons of mass death, and so does the intellectual segment of the "public," so do the trade unions and the unorganized working class. Since October 1975 up to this writing, the middle of 1977, the production and distribution of American-made arms reached fantastic heights.

John W. Finney, correspondent of the Washington bureau of *The New York Times*, reports that the United States Government has become a sales-promoter for the armament industry: "Earlier this year, Deputy Defense Secretary William P. Clements Jr., who is emerging as the executive manager of the Defense Department, held his first foreign military sales breakfast meeting, in his Pentagon office. It turned into a kind of pep meeting, the kind that business executives give to a sales team that is not producing." (N.Y.T., June 20, 1976)

No quick eye is required to see the meaning of this "breakfast" in a high Government office. At bottom, it seems to be a *mission* for the United States Government to advance the sale of munitions.

XXVI. THE CHIEF ARMAMENT RACE AND ITS SIDE EFFECTS

While the Government of the United States and the ruling stratum of the Soviet Union are indulging in promoting several arms races in different parts of the world, the central race in weapons and materials of war, of the highest type, of the greatest velocity of driving, is embracing these two chief promoters of armaments. The sinister race, openly conducted against each other, is so immense, so threateningly devastating that no human mind can fully comprehend its dimensions. Briefly, it is the mightiest warming up for a tremendous armed conflict under the deceptive cloak of successfully averting the steadily approaching holocaust. And in the midst of numerous shock absorbers to head off the widespread thunder of artillery and the cracking of the planet's crust by explosions of nuclear bombs, it is becoming more and more obvious that the advantage is growing on the Russian side.

C. L. Sulzberger, the columnist on foreign affairs of *The New York Times*, a perspicacious observer of the Capitalist-Marxist armament race wrote in the summer of 1976: "The Russians are deploying ten new land-based ballistic systems and are already ahead of America in nuclear throw-weight, total ICBM's and submarine-launched missiles and megatonnage. By 1980 it is possible they may surpass the United States in strategic bombers." (N.Y.T., Aug. 4, 1976). Six months later Sulzberger recalled that "In the mid-1960's the U.S. Defense Secretary said 'There is no indication that the Soviets are seeking to develop a strategic nuclear force as large as ours' Now it is larger." (Ib. Feb. 16, 1977)

The insane competition in weapons has dug deep into the health and living conditions of the United States population. As the Government went madly more and more into the military phase of expenditures, the social undertakings, improvements and reforms have been accorded a secondary consideration. A policy is unfolding of cutting down or withdrawing support altogether to various social institutions regionally or on a national scale. Many recreation facilities have been shut down, aid to the aged has been reduced and is threatened to be withdrawn entirely, day centers that took care of the babies while the mothers went to work have been closing in one city after another, hospitals, libraries are scheduled to be liquidated. Protest demonstrations, complaints, vociferous declarations of disapproval, demands for reestablishment of State subsidies to various facilities have been ineffective.

While enlarging the area of production of war equipment the United States Government is reducing the area of social benefits which have been introduced in previous generations. Free tuition in colleges is being discontinued, aid to city administrations has been curtailed by the Federal Government, so that while crime in

the streets is on the increase a large number of policemen are dismissed from their jobs; while houses are burning and people lose all their home possessions, and sometimes their lives, firemen are being laid off; while block after block is covered with piles of garbage sanitation workers are dropped from the payrolls. The vigorous, pulsating campaign of directing the tax money into the chest of the munitions industry is reaching even the public toilets in squares and parks, where the keepers, usually old war veterans, are fired and the stations demolished, discomforting primarily senior citizens, children and nursing mothers, the usual frequenters of these recreation areas. But the soberly avaricious producers of mass death weapons are rather refreshed by this gigantic bending of the interests of the common people to the enhancement of the enormous profits of the munitions makers.

There are pacifists in this armament-torn world. They are blind to the fact that because of the multi-State division of the human species in its evolution, the possession of portions of the earth's land surface is in a flux, periodically changing hands from nation to nation. This process is more than ten thousand years old. The territory of every nation is soaked in the blood of fighting men, mostly men. Virtually every large city, Paris, Rome, Madrid, Moscow, Peking, and other populated centers, at one time, or repeatedly, were saturated with the blood of warriors. And because of the national partition of the globe the evolution of arms proceeded from the bow and arrow to gun powder, to artillery, and reached really frightening proportions with the atomic bomb which prompted the loudest outcries from people concerned with the safety of the species. The pacifists advocating the settling of international disputes by arbitration on the basis of multiplicity of States are steeped in utopia. Only one, single, united international State can abolish armaments and war.

XXVII. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE UNITED NATIONS FAIL TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND FREEDOM

Prior to the 1914-1918 War the world was notably asleep to the lurking military catastrophe. All classes of the population paid a heavy price for their lack of alertness. Outward signs were deluding. The travelling to and from Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, England, the United States, and other countries was not impeded. Far from being hostile to one another, the monarchs of Europe lived in such a friendly atmosphere that war among them was regarded as a foolish nightmare. Seemingly the great powers reached a stable equilibrium of peace. Tsar Nicholas on November 4, 1910 paid a friendly visit to Kaiser Wilhelm at

Potsdam. On August 19, 1911 Germany and Russia reached a cordial agreement on the Bagdad Railway and on Persia. Lenin, later pictured by the Bolshevik writers as a vigilant sentinel of peace, wrote to Maxim Gorky in January 1913: "War of Austria with Russia would be a very useful thing for the revolution (in all Eastern Europe), but there is little likelihood that Franz Joseph and Nikolasha will afford us this pleasure." (*Leninsky Sbornik*, I, 131). As can be seen, Lenin expressed regret that the Austrian and the Russian militarists would not afford him the *pleasure* of seeing millions of workers and peasants butchering one another so that the Marxist swindlers, headed by him, could set up their dictatorship. About a year and a half later the military conflict, stunning in its dimensions, burst over Europe.

When the United States entered the War the conflict lost its European character and became a World War.

On November 11, 1918 fighting was terminated, and on January 18, 1919 the sessions of the Peace Conference began in Paris. The treaty produced by the Conference was divided into several sections. The first section dealt with the idea born in the brain of President Wilson, a seemingly impossible plan, but a logical one in a bewildered, war-torn world. The scheme was captioned "The Covenant of the League of Nations," an international organization of States established specifically to prevent the settlement of disputes among nations by resort to violence, an organ for the preservation of a permanent peace within the human species. Such institution before the 1914-1918 War was unimaginable. The launching of the League gave the impression that the problem of eliminating the plague of war, as that of the Black Death epidemic, or typhus, was at last surmounted.

Nevertheless, despite the intensive "peace" radiations emitted by the League of Nations, there was something basic in the character of the new institution causing its members to violate the apparently easy-to-follow principles upon which it declaratorily stood. Almost immediately upon its constitution small wars broke out in the "family of nations" with the notion of peace entirely disregarded; and later, on September 18, 1931, Japanese forces bombed and occupied Mukden. The immense invasion of China had begun.

Upon receiving this disturbing news the League was profoundly shaken. It reacted promptly to the appeal for help from the Chinese authorities, in accord with Article XI of its Constitution: "The League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effective to safeguard the peace of nations." Since the League had no army and navy to start a war against Japan, the "action" taken consisted of a verbal reprimand of the aggressor power, which was neither wise nor effective.

On October 2, 1935 Ethiopia reported the invasion of its territory

by Italian troops. Nine days later the League of Nations voted sanctions against Italy. Utterly unperturbed, moving apart from the "Covenant of the League of Nations," the Italian command, directed by the Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini, increased its forces in the attack on Ethiopia. On April 4, 1936 Mussolini occupied Addis Ababa, and on May 9 he announced to the whole world that Italy annexed Ethiopia to his empire. A short while later the leading Capitalist-democratic powers recognized the annexation. The significance of this recognition amounted to an approval of the robbery.

The New York Times of September 27, 1935 recalled the sober, somber, though somewhat imperfect estimation of the nature of the League of Nations made by Capitalist-democratic Senator Borah: "It has become a screen for the hypocrites who are trying to divide the territory of Europe." To be correct, to enlarge the definition a hundredfold, to decode the essence of the League of Nations, would be to say that in practice it was the very opposite of what it claimed to be, not an instrument of peace, but a shield for the big robber nations, specifically the Fascist dictators, Hitler and Mussolini. The League shone brightly in its pulsing hypocrisy. After the big Capitalist-democratic powers agreed to treat Ethiopia as a colony of Italy, the League of Nations voted to seat the representatives of that conquered country as an equal among the delegates of independent States.

Stalin joined the League of Nations in September 1934, and, in his stupid speculation that the organization would perform the role of an instrument of peace, at that time really desired by him, aided the Capitalists in perpetuating the false anti-war image of that institution. The League proved useful to Stalin in disregarding his line that brought the Nazis to power and preventing people from fathoming the riddle of the victory of Franco, but he was too myopic to detect the fact that the League served as a screen for the Fascist and Capitalist-democratic rulers to hatch the Munich conspiracy against Czechoslovakia and basically against himself.

In the case of the rape of the little Capitalist State of Czechoslovakia (March 15, 1939 Hitler's troops entered Prague), the Marxists, Right and Left, vied in treachery and hypocrisy with the League and with the Capitalist-democratic governments. But the greatest hypocrite of all was the Kremlin dictator. Only about four years earlier, on May 16, 1935, Stalin made a pact with Czechoslovakia guaranteeing to safeguard its independence. Soon after, he concluded a pact with France to protect that little Capitalist country against aggression, clearly meaning against Nazi Germany. Stalin's incredible aloofness during Hitler's march into Prague, duplicated by the French Government, defies any interpretation —except one. The conclusion cannot be escaped that Hitler, on

friendly terms with Stalin, offered the Marxist ruler of Russia eventual partition of Poland, and only after Stalin accepted the offer, marched into Czechoslovakia.

When hapless and helpless Poland suffered that tragic fate, the League of Nations, following the example of the Capitalist-democratic France and England, did absolutely nothing to counteract this immense Capitalist-Marxist piece of robbery and mass oppression and murder. And when Stalin punctuated his growing "friendship" with Hitler by attacking the little Capitalist Finland, in December 1939, the big Capitalist democracies displayed an amazing passivity, even indifference to the bitter plight of that small fellow-State, while the League called an emergency meeting of the Council and the Assembly. Convened, they merely sent a polite message to Stalin, the great "defender of peace," asking him to discontinue the war and come to the negotiating table to settle his dispute with Finland. By way of reply, the thud of Stalin's artillery bombarding Finnish forts became intensified. Stalin's planes dropped bombs on Helsinki. Therupon the League expelled Marxist Russia from its midst. That sums up the "action" taken by the League to stop aggressors.

The function of the League in its last stage of existence was the beclouding of the activities of the Nazis and the British and the French democratic leaders who were vigorously preparing Hitler's military machine to conquer Marxist Russia.

At the beginning of the great invasion Hitler was in the glamour of an Ancient Conqueror. Then he met a frenzied resistance by the Russian masses which was emphasized by rapidly developing armor supplied by State industry to the frantically fighting army. Hitler was stopped. Instead of seizing Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, all of the Caucasus, the Urals and Siberia to the Sea of Japan, Hitler was slowly, steadily, irreversibly pushed back to Poland, back to Germany, and finally, while his army fought madly to hold Berlin, must have perished in the ruins of the city, or secretly escaped either to Latin America, with many other Nazi leaders or to some Capitalist democratic country.

The "victorious" Churchill and Roosevelt, viewing the uninterrupted retreat of the Nazi army, were impelled to renew Wilson's idea of building a union of nations, with Stalin joining in. Again, and even forcefully, the nations comprising the human race would be gathered under one roof, except the Fascist aggressors, in esteem of equality, dignity, freedom and peace. The founding British-American team named the new organization the United Nations. Surrounded by all the trappings of hypocrisy with which its predecessor, the League of Nations, was enveloped, the new body faced the gnawing problem of Marxist Russia, to whom the democratic leaders of Capitalism paid high honor. The United Nations was to

be an instrument to bring the central purpose in Churchill's "Iron Curtain" attack to realization through a storming array of pieces of exposure of Stalin's aggression from the Baltic to the Adriatic. His acquisition of the atomic bomb destroyed the original purpose of the United Nations.

But the United Nations was not liquidated once it had been created. It was freshened up by the formation of Israel and the armed struggle which followed in the Near East. It experienced a new role of shielding the expanding arms trade, and of diverting of the world's attention from the fact that the Vietnam affair in which over a hundred billion dollars of tax money was spent by the United States Government on munitions, the greatest market for war material rather than a struggle to defeat the Hanoi Marxist dictators.

With the large influx of Marxist states, including "Communist" China, and the entry of a host of other States of the "Third World" composed of the African and Arab countries, strongly influenced by Tito, the Yugoslavian little Stalin, the United Nations became a pro-Marxist instrument of intrigue and deception.

That the "Third World" part of the United Nations has taken the direction towards alignment with the Marxist dictators can be gleaned from the atmosphere at its conference in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in the summer of 1976. Its representatives "hailed the historic and total victory achieved by the people of Vietnam in their struggle against aggressive United States imperialism." (N.Y.T., Aug. 20, 1976)

The United Nations observes the Marxist Woman's Day: "The idea of Woman's Day celebration was first proposed in 1910 by Clara Zetkin, a German Communist and feminist, and has taken hold mainly in the Soviet bloc. In the United Nations, the day has been used for speeches focusing attention on employment practices." (N.Y.T., March 9, 1977)

The speakers in the United Nations merely criticised discrimination against women: "That bias against women prevails outside was underscored by other panelists, including Bella Abzug, the former New York Representative, who said it was difficult to understand why the Senate remained the 'most exclusive men's club in the world' when women made up a majority of the population." (Ib.)

But neither Abzug, nor any other speaker called attention to the fact that the entire Capitalist world, from the United States down and the entire "Communist" world, from Moscow to Havana, are male dominated, and so are the "Third World" nations. Not one of them pointed out that the Marxist Woman's Day is a hypocritical screen behind which the exclusion of women from equally sharing State power is perpetuated in the "Communist" and Capitalist countries, and that the United Nations, by observing the Woman's Day, is aiding in keeping up this exclusion.

XXVIII. THE BASIC REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE UNITED NATIONS TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND FREEDOM

What was the fundamental cause for the dismal omission to perform the self-appointed function to achieve freedom and peace in the social character of the two seemingly noble-minded institutions, the League of Nations and the United Nations? Lack of an enforcing police department? Would the Mikado, Mussolini, Hitler or Stalin be scared off from attacking their prey if the League had possessed such an instrument of force? Would the Arab leaders hold back from the idea of devouring Israel if the United Nations were to threaten police action? Of course not!

Was it human nature that lay at the bottom of aggression of man against man, nation against nation, for countless centuries? Is it an attribute of the species that one must enslave another, that nations oppress national minorities? The practice of buying and selling human beings, for many thousands of years, since the dawn of history, was considered by Ancient poets, philosophers, legislators and publicists, and of course by the Roman Generals, as an iradicable, distinguished trait of humanity. The condition of owning human beings and being owned was abolished, proving that the chattel institution was a social, not a biological entity.

The fact is, in the past there were certain social institutions, now abolished, and that there are two specific institutions today, shrouded in the darkness of silence by both the Marxists and the Capitalists, which turn all the gleaming talk about collective security, international law, the outlawing of war, general disarmament, freedom, into so many dishonest phrases. What are these two institutions?

It will be necessary for an investigator to walk through several floors of history and observe the foundations of life of the human society at different periods in its evolution.

The principles upon which humanity was in motion during the thousands of years of the Egyptian Empire, the numerous centuries of the Assyrian, Baylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, Roman, Carthaginian, Byzantine, and other States are quite easily defined. They were male supremacy and chattel slavery. All activity that was beaming into the social consciousness, all ideologies, proceeded from these two institutions. The great amount of military action was conducted by men, once in a while by a woman serving the masculine State, and was based on chattel slavery. This twofold aspect of evolution shaped the male sex as the aggressive division of the human species.

Roaming through the halls of history, the observer will come upon the origin and growth of another form of slavery, unknown

at the dawn of civilization. The name of the other form is serfdom, in the era of Feudalism. Considerably involved, the Feudal system unfolded on the foundation of serfdom, the attachment of the peasantry, a relatively free class as compared with chattels, by law, to the soil of the lord, and subjected to the will of the lord. The serfs were *land slaves*. They could be bought or sold only with the land. Male supremacy continued as under the system of chattel slavery but the basis of the power of the kings and emperors, the foundation upon which they lived and fought was no longer chattel slavery. They now leaned heavily upon serfdom.

From the middle of the eighteenth century of Christianity serfdom was brought under pressure to be replaced by yet a different form of enslavement. The invention and application of steam-power driven machinery, replacing the hand-tools, the establishment of the factory system of production heralded the rise of Capitalism, first in England, followed in France, Germany and the United States. The owners of the factories, people with capital, did not themselves turn the wheels of industry. They depended for that function on people who had no tools, no property, and in order to live hired themselves out to the Capitalists, the owners of the mills, mines and factories. No one among the economists and other erudite persons of the early phase of Capitalism had the understanding that the hiring system held an unusual significance in the evolution of human bondage, that it would be instrumental in casting serfdom upon the ash heap of history. The French Revolution wiped out serfdom root and branch, and expanded the hiring system. In Russia Tsar Alexander II, Emperor and chief landlord, by ukaz, a written order, abolished serfdom.

In the development of Capitalism, with crowds of hungry, raggedy men and women at the gates of factories offering themselves for hire, the Capitalists exploited those they hired to exhaustion, reaping fabulous profits.

Following a period of complete submission to the terms of the Capitalists, the workers opened the next stage of the hiring enslavement. A wave of strikes and resistance to excessive exploitation, a movement for unionizing, for humanizing working conditions involving the elimination of "sweat shops" checked to a degree the avarice of the masters. The Capitalists resisted like tigers every step the workers made in improvement of conditions of labor. Despite that resistance, many reforms were achieved. At length the Capitalists greeted the improvements as products of their initiative. At the same time a lie received wide circulation that hired labor, implicitly in contrast with chattel or serf bondage, was "free labor."

On the other hand, Marx and Engels, clearly perceiving that the people who hired themselves out to the Capitalist to work in his

factory were reduced to a condition of enthrallment, attached to a "theoretical" explanation of that condition, a falsification, one must admit, of an ingenious character. The fable they concocted pictures the worker not as a person for hire but as a *salesman*, and the merchandise he supposedly sells is "labor power" which the Capitalist, having purchased, puts to work, as if it were an ox. In plain reality the workers sell nothing. They simply hire themselves out; and when hired produce in value their wages and profit for the Capitalists.

Marx and Engels gave utterance to another little fraud in connection with the worker-Capitalist relation. They christened the Capitalist profit as "surplus value," pretending they made a great discovery. But "surplus value" did not originate with Capitalism. In ten thousand years, or longer, chattel slaves produced values, part of which went for their upkeep, and as payment for them to the slave merchant, and part went to their masters and their State, as "surplus value."

Occasionally Marx diverted himself from his favorite theme of the "sale of labor power" to speak about the wage system and its abolition. For example, in a long speech titled *Value, Price and Profit* Marx put forth the proposition of "emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system."

But the "wage system" formulation is also incorrect. To advocate the liquidation of the "wage system" without proposing to end the hiring practice in general, is like suggesting to eliminate the fangs from the head of a very vicious dog but leaving the sharp, dangerous teeth intact. Careful calculation would produce the understanding that if the officials of State, if the doctors in the hospitals, professors in universities, and other people of higher station than the working class, remain subjects of hiring, then, in such circumstances, to speak of the release of the working class from the chains of servitude would be to give utterance to a utopian idea.

To Lenin, for his purposes, Marx's incorrect formula "abolition of the wages system" was sufficient. Like Marx, he was never concerned with analyzing the entire scale of hiring human beings in Capitalist society. In the summer of 1917, in his book *State and Revolution*, discussing his stand for the suppression of the Capitalists, he stated: "We must crush them in order to free humanity from wage slavery." Three weeks after he swindled the State power from the hands of the guileless delegates of the Congress of the Soviets, Lenin spoke of "the immediate beginning of the abolition of the whole system of Capitalist wage slavery." (*Draft Resolution Submitted to the Extraordinary Congress of Soviets of Peasant Deputies*, Nov. 28, 1917.)

Lenin crushed the Russian Capitalists, only not in order to abolish "the whole system of Capitalist wage slavery," but to take over their

property, their hired slaves, the workers, and build a bureaucratic order along familiar patterns of male supremacy and hiring servitude.

The League of Nations and the United Nations were built on the foundation of Capitalist, also Marxist hiring servitude. That is why these bodies failed in their declared purpose of existence, freedom and peace among nations.

XXIX. WHAT CAN BE THE OUTCOME OF THE CAPITALIST-MARXIST RIVALRY FOR THE ENSLAVEMENT OF THE HUMAN SPECIES?

How it all began, the origin and nature of Marxism, its major betrayals of the workers, its internal crimes, its remarkable expansion, geographical, industrial, and military, at the expense of the generally very much crippled but still robust and vibrant Capitalism, have been traced in these pages. But a dark cloud hangs over the answer to the most stirring question of the present epoch. What will be the ultimate fate of the human species if this expansion continues? An attempt can be made to pierce the cloud only by speculation, through the exclusion of everything clearly not within the realm of the possible or of reason.

It would be reasonable to assume that Marxism will not only hold onto the states it captured, but will also manipulate, with skill and dexterity, its frauds, to extend control or influence in more countries now rotating in the orbit of Capitalism, to the complete exclusion of the chief Capitalist nation, the United States. Permanent peace between the ambitious, powerful Russian Marxist bureaucrats and the greatly perturbed, slowly retreating American Capitalists must be ruled out. The all-absorbing armament race, having become fully legalized in the popular mind, will culminate in a frightful holocaust. The Kremlin pilots of the Marxist military power, no doubt ahead of the United States in sophisticated weapons, may launch a blazing assault upon the American centers, reducing to cinders New York, Los Angeles, Boston and other population-concentrated points. In such general devastation Marxism would secure a victory a thousand times more impressive, more immense than the taking of Berlin by Stalin's army.

The possibility that Capitalism would strike first must also be considered. Its policy-makers might realize that, in the face of continuous expansion of Moscow's power, to postpone the denouement much longer would mean to await supinely the death of Capitalism. It is also possible that the Marxist leaders end the pressure of attrition by opening a war with conventional weapons, leading to the

mass horror of detonation of nuclear bombs.

In the first-strike victory of either Marxism or Capitalism, humanity would be destined to endure another thousand years of oppression and exploitation, but this time, not under chattel slavery, or serfdom, but under hiring servitude and, of course, masculine supremacy.

In a conflict involving superpowers striking at each other *simultaneously*, the populations of the United States and of the Soviet Union would be consumed by nuclear fire, and the planet itself would be either shattered to smithereens or shaken out of its natural orbit. If diverted from its course around the sun, the earth, drawn by gravitation, would dive at a terrific speed toward this immense fiery body and melt millions of miles away from its surface, or, through centrifugal force, would be impelled outward into the ultra-frigid space.

XXX. PEACE SANITY VS. MILITARY MADNESS

In this work the major facts about the struggle between Marxism and Capitalism have been squarely laid out on the table. The contingency humanity is facing has been amply demonstrated. Neither social system is able to extricate the species from the greatest crisis in its life, to safeguard the planet which we inhabit, from a major, perhaps the final catastrophe.

Is a different course within the realm of the possible? Can one hope to see a massive intellectual detonation for real peace and true freedom? Will the benumbed, benighted, hired slaves of Capitalism and Marxism remain attached to their masters, who are sooner or later, inexorably, going to blow up the present "peace" with a shower of nuclear bombs? Or will the mass of the species break the fetters of thralldom, overthrow the enslavers, and, across all national State lines, elect an International Congress of Peace and Freedom composed of equal numbers of men and women? No one at present can answer these questions. But somehow one must hope for such a break-out from the monstrous madness into which the men who run the two contemporary worlds have led the human species.

If such a development takes place, it is not difficult to visualize the new course of history. The doors of the torture chambers and the barbed-wire gates of the labor camps in the Marxist and the Capitalist countries would be broken down to release the millions of political prisoners, many of them sick, emaciated and dying. Next, the International Congress in its first session would adopt a number of decisions and issue several proclamations of the high-

est order. The sinister United Nations would be declared dissolved, its place taken by the International Union, all countries assembled under one State, on the basis of full equality of both sexes. The complete and total abolition of any and all hiring of human beings would be proclaimed, and thus the emancipation of the working class from servitude would be achieved. Hiring of men and women would henceforth be as illegal as chattel slavery in the United States following the Civil War. A provision would be adopted that no political leader should be entrusted with power.

One of the most important tasks on the immediate agenda of the Union of all countries would be complete disarmament. All nuclear weapons in every country which possesses them, or began their construction, would be dismantled, together with less terrible instruments of war. All armies would be demobilized, all navies stripped of guns and other war equipment, and converted for peaceful purposes. Production of munitions would be ordered to stop at once. With all nations living in friendship, under one roof of the world State, with the war between the sexes abolished by imparting an equal share of control and responsibility to the *peace* sex, the woman, by placing the new structure of life of the human race upon the principle of abolition, not upon continuation, of hiring of men and women, there would be no longer any male intrigues by playing the role of Robespierre, of Napoleon, of Stalin and Hitler, and therefore no need for armies and navies. Only on such a basis can humanity proceed to construct a genuine Socialist society, contrary to Lenin's lie, when he secured personal power, "We shall now proceed to construct Socialism," meanwhile starting a system of appointing bureaucrats on the basis of maintaining hiring servitude and the supremacy of the male sex.

XXXI. ON THE DANGER OF FASCISM IN AMERICA

One is impressed by the fact that the Capitalist democratic United States, the Pentagon and other official and unofficial channels became the chief suppliers and upholders of vicious, illegal even from the American viewpoint, military dictatorships. In an article, "Our Billions Back Military Regimes in Latin America," the columnist Jack Anderson writes: "The heirs of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson have actively aided and abetted the rise of military dictatorships in the Western Hemisphere...The statistics of tyranny tell the story. In 1963, only four small Latin American nations—El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Paraguay—were ruled by military dictatorships. Then Brazil fell to a

junta in 1964. Panama and Peru went military in 1968. The armed forces took over Bolivia in 1969, Ecuador in 1972, Chile and Uruguay in 1973." (*Sunday News*, Oct. 10, 1976.) Anderson tells of a "love affair between the dictatorships and the Pentagon. Over the last 30 years, the Pentagon has squandered \$2 billion worth of hardware and training on the military establishments of Latin America."

The most atrocious military dictatorship in Latin America, perhaps in the world, at the present historical juncture, is doubtless Chile, headed by General Pinochet. The liberal *New York Post* of October 16, 1976, in an editorial entitled "Chile: the Unending Nightmare" reported, "The fresh evidence, collected from hundreds of witnesses, establishes beyond any dispute that a ruthless tyranny holds sway in Chile and that imprisonment, torture and savagery remain routine procedures . . . Secretary of the Treasury Simon had expressed far less critical views a few weeks earlier and voiced approval of continued American economic aid. The U.S. military has maintained cordial relations with the Chileans."

The following appeared in the *Newsweek* of October 11, 1976: "Apparently not worried about its global image, Israel has decided to sell Shafir missiles—air-to-air, infra-red homing weapons—to the right-wing military dictatorship in Chile."

The military dictators in Latin America, or in Africa, or in Nazi Germany, or in Marxist Russia, are no friends of the Jews. In fact the Fascist generals are among the worst anti-Semites.

The pre-Hitler Germany was Capitalist democratic, the least anti-Semitic and the most assimilating for the Jews country in the world. Speaking historically, in a fraction of duration it was transformed into the most rabid anti-Jewish state on record. In the United States, in the present period, anti-Semitism is simmering gently, with a subdued hissing, below the surface of society, both among the blacks and the whites. What if an anti-Semitic general, a distant friend of Pinochet, a secret admirer of Hitler, decides to put an end to the mess of Capitalist democracy and install an iron military dictatorship in Washington? Who would defend Capitalist democracy? The "Communists," who are already saturated with anti-Semitism and can turn into Fascists overnight, as tens of thousands did in Germany after Hitler took power! The spineless Socialists and Liberals? The trade unions which are not at all alive to the danger of Fascist dictatorship? President Carter who never attacked the affinity of the Pentagon with the military dictators abroad? Perhaps Kissinger, of recent exalted political status, would reappear on the scene, this time investing his skill and enthusiasm in organizing the defense of Capitalist democracy against a

would-be military overthrow? That two-faced maneuverer, a Jew himself, was for years ingratiating himself with the worst military scum of Fascism. "Consider, for example, the visit that Mr. Kissinger made last February to Brazil, a country where innocent people are brutally victimized by secret police. Mr. Kissinger, going out of his way to give a public accolade to Brazil's totalitarian government, said: 'There are no two people whose concern for human dignities and for the basic values of man is more profound in day-to-day life than Brazil and the United States.' " (Anthony Lewis, *The New York Times*, Oct. 21, 1976.)

The best evidence collected in various quarters strongly suggests that there is absolutely no general awareness of the existing danger of a military takeover in Washington. Even the sarcastic remarks of the Thirties, "It can't happen here," have vanished from conversation. A bad omen!

XXXII. IF HITLER HAD SUCCEEDED IN THE GIGANTIC INVASION OF MARXIST RUSSIA

It is worthwhile to consider what kind of world would have emerged a number of years following a victory of the Nazi forces in Russia, instead of the total disaster they suffered.

All Capitalist democratic institutions in every part of the world, including their bulwarks, England and the United States, would have been wiped out. The Nazis would have been elevated to the level of becoming the most respectable members of the human race. France would have remained under the military dictatorship of Hitler's collaborator, General Petain, Norway under the Nazi-installed Norwegian ardent supporter of the Fascist system, Quisling. In the Far East Japanese militarists would have ruled China and many islands of the Pacific. The anti-Semitic Fascist generals of the United States, armed with the atomic bomb, would have become the only power challenging Hitler's supremacy.

Nazi Germany, the peak anti-Semitic country in history, would have insisted upon having every Jew in all lands where there were Jews, killed, even half-Jews, to "purify" the white race. The Jews, long-hounded national group, in its ethnic composition, the most mixed compound of the human species, held together by parentage, religion inside and persecution from the outside, would be finally exterminated, fading out completely from the night sky of Fascism. The Jews would have been made a library-shelf national group like the Ancient Phoenicians, Hittites, Medians, Etruscans, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, and other extinct peoples—but with a special difference. More than at any time in the two thousand years

of Christianity, the Jews would have been fiendishly vilified, their memory defamed to the utmost degree for the crime their ancestors supposedly committed by delivering the mythical "Son of God" into the hands of the Roman executioners. Christianity, the only religion based on the accusation of a people having murdered its founder, would have entered its second terrible Dark Ages—the first lasted from about 400 to 1400, nearly a thousand years of desuetude of intellectual light, of brutal anti-Semitism, of war, of slavery. On the bottom of society in the first Dark Ages were the conquered nations. Hitler spoke of the Nazi power lasting a thousand years. Before he was stopped in Russia he never doubted that his prediction would materialize; and it would have if he had won the war. The second Dark Ages would probably have outlasted the first. It would have stood on male domination, but instead of chattel slavery for its foundation, it would have stood on hiring servitude. At the very bottom of the scale of this system of slavery would be the black race.

Once the Marxist swindle and Capitalist democracy were laid in their graves, the Munich conspirators and "Second World War" collaborators would turn upon each other. New alliances would have been formed. The new "Roman Empire," Fascist Germany, attired in a Byzantine regalia of emblems and decorations, would have developed its own nuclear weapons, and the threat of either universal destruction or a turbulently frightful victory of either the United States or Nazi Germany would have hung over the human species.

Hitler's invasion of Marxist Russia was beaten back by the Russian masses armed with superior Stalinist artillery, tanks and planes. The "Communist" triumph, secretly bemoaned by the Capitalist-democratic "allies" of Communism, but hailed by hundreds of millions of deceived anti-Fascist workers, peasants, and many intellectuals, and by nationally-blinded Jews, expanded and strengthened Marxist slavery. But the lives of thirty million men, women and children, sacrificed by the Stalinist bureaucracy as a payment for its master's imbecility in accepting a "gift" from Hitler in the partition of Poland, perhaps were not lost in vain. Maybe the Marxist swindle remained alive to suffer a really desirable fate of illumination of its inner criminal character by a truly Socialist exposure.

And the authentic Socialist exposure leads to the view that if the most improbable development takes place, if humanity, now definitely an endangered species, survives the terrible devastation and decimation of the approaching nuclear war, it will have arrived at a three-pronged fork in the road of its evolution. It may plunge into a thousand years of awful misery under the military oppression and exploitation accompanied by a series of nuclear conflicts of either among Capitalist or among Marxist powers, on the basis of

hiring servitude and male supremacy; or it may advance upon the path leading to a peaceful cooperation of all races and nationalities, under one international State, on the new foundation—the universal ending of all hiring of human beings and the total abolition of the use of the female sex for the base advantage of the male by establishing true social equality of the sexes.

XXXIII RECAPITULATION OF THE EXPOSURE OF KARL MARX.

THE QUESTION OF THE TEN MILLION TOMORROWS— MILITARY SLAVERY OR TRUE FREEDOM

Perhaps the present benighted condition of the human species is but a pre-dawn darkness to be dissipated by a powerful, organized force of exposure based on the documentary material presented in these pages.

Proceeding from the centrally oriented purpose of unmasking the Marxist swindle and advancing the concept of authentic Socialism, this force would indefatigably pursue the course of shattering the myth about a certain outstanding man of the Nineteenth Century as having been a "founder of scientific Socialism." In the mind-clearing process, this emerging force would show him up as an anti-Polish, anti-Negro, anti-Bulgarian, anti-Jewish, anti-female political self-seeking manipulator. A fact would be placed in sight that he was a foe of both the workers and the Capitalists.

And perhaps the highly motivated, sincere, Socialist-minded people would behold the true face and the real essence of his politics. They would realize that he had thousands of followers-swindlers. He laid the theoretical ground for the usurpation of power by Lenin, then by Stalin, and by Stalin's successors. He set the precedent of base treachery in being a liar and cheat in relation to the Paris Commune of 1871. His Russian followers-swindlers headed by Lenin, copied him in crime by sending ten thousand Spartacus workers and sailors to their death; and later by clearing the path to power for the monstrous Hitler; by maneuvering the Civil War in Spain so that General Franco could bathe for over three decades in workers' blood. To fortify their usurped power his Russian followers committed many crimes similar to his, but on a gigantic scale.

Stripped of all attractive pretense would come to the general view the true political character of the originator of the "Communist" hiring system of slavery and brutal male tyranny. Made clear by evidence recorded in that charlatan's own plots and intrigues, the distant, albeit indirect, responsibility for Stalin's murder of innocent victims, in tens of millions, for Brezhnev's torture of thousands of people whose half-suffocated plea is merely that this for-

mer Stalinist bureaucrat, now dictator over the Soviet Union, relaxes somewhat his strangulating fingers on their throats, is traceable to the founder of "Communism."

But until the transformation of the mentality of numerous victims of the skilled craftsmen of "Communist" deception takes place, vast masses all over the globe and a great number of anti-Capitalist intellectuals, and even some Capitalists, will hold this extreme Left German chauvinist in profound reverence, not knowing that he was the originator of the most prestigious, most pernicious political swindle ever concocted, which his partner in deceit denominated "Scientific Socialism." Consisting of many elevated ideas and a whole range of conclusions palpably incorrect, it contained a thesis in reference to chattel slavery. He allotted to the chattel bondage of the black people in the United States the role of indispensable factor in the production of cotton, and therefore in the maintenance of the textile industry of Manchester, England. This thesis was not a fleeting theoretical construction, adopted one day and abandoned the next. He held it for more than fourteen years, from 1846 to 1862, held it firmly and, what is really shocking, by unmistakable evidence, held it in a manner of approving the existence of that vicious institution and favoring its perpetuation. Even after the roar of the opening salvos of the Civil War rolled over the Atlantic and the news of victories won by the slaveholders reached London, he continued to cling to his pro-slavery view. As for his partner, the mind of that man was heated with enthusiasm for Stonewall Jackson, an outstanding general of the slaveholders, who won a big victory at the Second Battle of Bull Run (Aug. 18-30, 1862).

So, for over fourteen years he and his friend were siding with all the evil tools of the evil system. This "Scientific Socialist" approach toward chattel slavery was infinitely more despicable than the boasted affinity of Lenin and his Bolsheviks with the Jacobin bandits of power and murderers of the greatest revolutionary women in history. Of course Lenin never indicated or disclosed in any manner to the workers the significant fact that the two authors of the *Communist Manifesto*, while working on it, backed chattel slavery in America.

In plain words, as long as one part of the human race is induced by the ideologists of Capitalism to view the founder of "Scientific Socialism" through a fog of ignorance, derision and stupidity, yet lightly tinted with respect, and the other part is cultivated by his Left and Right disciples, the "Communists" and the Socialists, to gaze at him with profound admiration mingled with love and affection, humanity will remain at an astronomical distance from even a shadow of suspicion of the basest infamy in his supposed moral soundness, let alone the concrete knowledge that in the process

of tens of thousands of years of evolution of duplicity he was the most sophisticated swindler. Topping all his practice of imposture was sabotage in preventing humanity from turning at favorable moments in history upon the road to Socialism. He performed this work of obstruction in Germany in the Revolution of 1848, dropping all pretense at fighting for the Socialist transformation of society.

In the Commune, had he been a true Socialist, he would not have let the Revolution of 18 of March 1871 remain on the ground of the hiring system but would have used his influence to advocate its abolition, as well as institution of true equality of the sexes. He, by contrast, used his influence in supplying the leaders of the Commune with advice in the commercial field, according to his letter to a friend: "I sent the members of the Commune a letter in answer to a question from them as to how they could handle certain securities on the London Exchange." (Letter to Beesly, June 12, 1872) That the leaders of the Commune, in the vortex of the most important working class event of the epoch, occupied their excited minds with commercial transactions of papers on the stock exchange, is extremely doubtful. But the substance of the letter to Beesly underscores the political sabotage of its author. Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and other upper tier "enlighteners of the proletariat" naturally read this letter to Beesly. They remained silent regarding its disgraceful content. In competition with each other for knowledge, they knew that he helped to transform the Commune into one of the greatest tragedies for the oppressed masses. The name of this chief internal disrupter of a Socialist perspective in the Nineteenth Century was *Karl Marx*.

After 1848, history did not produce for Marx an opening for launching a bureaucratic dictatorship in Germany. Lenin in Russia achieved the founding of the first Marxist State. Under Stalin a large number of Marxist States arose on the globe. At the funeral of Marx, of Lenin, and of Stalin, Marxism was again and again, in a millionth time, falsely portrayed as the theory and practice of liberation of humanity from slavery.

The Marxist swindle is a formidable force. Potentially it is more powerful than Capitalism. The concrete test demonstrated the superiority of the Marxist system when the mighty Nazi army, supported by France and other Capitalist States, was overwhelmed and totally destroyed by the Marxist force which gradually grew in strength to many times that of Hitler's.

The hiring system under Marxism is sustained and driven with a dynamic false promise: "We are marching toward the higher stage of Communism!" What can Capitalism offer to its hired workers in contrast? No more than: a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, with periodic unemployment.

* * *

Day by day, step by step, humanity, mentally blinded by the Marxist and the Capitalist obfuscators, with their hollow "peace" rhetoric, is slowly inching on the road toward the most violent military explosion in history. One, concerned, may ask, how many more heinous crimes will be committed by the macabre top Marxist bureaucrats, who are always prepared to experience the insensitivity of Marx and Engels as participants in the murder of thousands of workers of Paris, are ready to repeat the Lenin-Trotsky political driving of Leftmost workers into fire in Germany in 1918-1919, or in the digging of graves in labor camps for millions of innocent people as in the Stalin epoch, or continue the Brezhnev method of persecution of the mildest of oppositionists by plucking up the embittered but largely silent victims from their homes and burying them in the asylums for the insane—before they strike at Capitalism with a thousand nuclear bombs and may, indeed, secure full control of the globe? Another question can be posed. How many more atrocious deeds will be perpetrated by the directors of Capitalist society, presiding over the boiling cauldron of intrigues, degradation and collapse of morals, who would little hesitate to create new "Dreyfusiades," stage new "Sacco and Vanzetti" cases, betray again fellow-Capitalist States, as Czechoslovakia at Munich, or Poland in the democratic-Fascist "Phony War," or Finland in its helpless fight against Stalin's army, a war used by the Capitalist democracies and Hitler to test the strength of the Russian military forces—before Capitalism in a nuclear war against the Kremlin perhaps will really overpower the Marxist Frankenstein's monster and inflict, in the fury of its long-awaited victory, the most dreadful retribution not only upon the Marxist bureaucracy but also upon hundreds of millions of its slaves.

But what if a non-exploitive alternative emerges upon the stage of history? In that event the question must be put in a different form. How much, or how little time is left to both sets of brutal, hypocritical, cunning and conniving exploiters, members of the male sex—before the seemingly nonexistent but actually only dormant force opposing masculine and hiring slavery awakens and rises to terminate the rule of deception, of corruption, of military power, Capitalist and Marxist, and inaugurate a new era of evolution of the human species, the era of authentic Socialism?